

THE HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL.

THE history of hospitals in England is practically that of ^{The Early Gilds} the provision made by successive generations for the relief of the sick and impotent poor. Even before there were any Kings of England, gilds existed in well-nigh every town which dispensed charity and undertook the duties now performed by hospitals, almshouses and guardians.¹

While the country was still undivided into parishes, the bishops as incumbents of the whole of their respective dioceses received the tithes payable upon the land; but later on, when churches became more numerous and were appropriated to the religious houses, one-third part was allotted as stipend to the priest in charge of each parish, and the remainder was retained by the monks for their own maintenance, for hospitality extended to the stranger and for poor relief.

In order to accommodate not only its own sick and infirm, but also pilgrims passing on their way, and other strangers who might apply for medical treatment, each monastery had apartments specially set aside for use as an infirmary. Besides these there were the hospitals, or more properly speaking, almshouses, for the aged and infirm, the majority of which were endowed by private benefactors in order to secure for their souls the future benefits promised by the Church.

¹ Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, p. 95.

Chantry

Such as these were the chantries which provided one or more priests to say masses for the dead and to dispense food and sustenance to the sick and necessitous.

Leper Hospitals

Contemporaneously with the increasing prevalence of leprosy in England during the eleventh and succeeding centuries came a religious revival prompting charitable measures towards sufferers from that disease, the contagiousness of which had become a matter of general belief, in consequence of the Roman decretal, *De leprosis*, 1179, which declared that "lepers cannot be allowed to dwell with healthy men." Many of these hospitals were established by private persons, others by civic and parochial authorities, and isolation was enforced by law for the protection of the public. In neither case then were the motives of the founders entirely unselfish.

Charitable Foundations

1306-7

As time went on it was found that many of the religious houses intended for the maintenance of the sick and infirm, and the performance of other acts of charity, were prevented from exercising their proper functions on account of the excessive taxation demanded of them by their ecclesiastical superiors, and it became necessary to enact that no money should henceforth be sent out of England for such purposes (35 Ed. I.).

1414-5

Again, in the following century, in consequence of the endowments of many "hospitals founded by kings, lords and ladies, to sustain impotent men and women, lazars, men out of their wits, and poor women with child; and to nourish, relieve and refresh other poor people in the same, being spent in other use, whereby many men and women have died in great misery," the ordinary of each diocese was enjoined to enquire into, correct and reform the abuses which had arisen (2 Hen. V). The motive of this interference was probably to put some check upon the increasing number of

vagrants, and to preserve the rights of the sick and needy to the relief these hospitals afforded.

Provision for the aged and impotent poor, adopted at first as a religious virtue, was afterwards accepted as a civic duty, and from the latter point of view considerations of policy came to light which had been gradually lost sight of, as almsgiving had come to be more and more practised for the sake of the donor's salvation. It was the State which reintroduced the principle of discrimination (between the able bodied and the impotent) which had become entirely forgotten by the Church.¹ The first Act in which the latter are recognized as a separate class (12 Ric. II) legally defines 1388-9 the settlement of "impotent beggars unable to work," and in a cursory survey of the legislation for the relief of the poor, this class alone demands our present attention.

By the 22 Hen. VIII, licences to beg within certain 1530-1 limits are to be granted to aged, poor and impotent persons only; and by the 27 Hen. VIII, the first Act making provision for poor relief, the various municipal authorities are ordered to receive, succour, relieve and keep their own impotent poor by means of voluntary collections of alms, each parish to be subject to a penalty in case of default. 1535-6

The moment chosen for this enactment suggests that it was probably intended to demonstrate the possibility of maintaining the poor by the voluntary contributions of the charitable, without the aid of the religious houses, whose obligations in the distribution of alms were ordered to continue notwithstanding.

The thin end of the wedge had already been inserted by the suppression of the alien priories; that of the lesser monasteries almost immediately followed, and before three

Relief of
Sick and
Impotent
Poor

¹ Bosanquet, *Aspects of the Social Problem*, pp. 217-8.

years had passed the whole of the religious houses in England, including 110 hospitals, had been dissolved, the buildings themselves demolished, and their portals of relief closed.

Gresham's Petition

It was then that Sir Richard Gresham, the Lord Mayor of London, sent a petition to his "most dradd, beloved and naturall Sovraine Lorde," King Henry the Eighth, informing him that "the poor sick blind aged and impotent persons, being not able to keep themselves nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed or lodged at till they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sickness: So it is most gracious Lord that near and within the City of London be three Hospitals or Spytells commonly called St. Mary's (Bethlehem), St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas' Spytells, and the new Abbey of Tower Hill (the Minories), founded of good devotion by ancient fathers and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor and impotent people not being able to help themselves; and not to the maintenance of canons, priests and monks to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offending every clean person passing by the way with their filthy and nasty savours: Wherefore may it please your merciful goodness . . . to order by your high authority as supreme head of this Church of England . . . that your Mayor of your City of London and aldermen for the time being, shall and may from henceforth have the order and disposition, rule and governance both of the lands, tenements and revenues appertaining and belonging to the said hospitals or any of them, and of the members which be or shall be within any of them," &c. (Cott. MS., Cleopatra E. IV, f. 222).¹

¹ Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thos. Gresham*, i., p. 26.

Our appreciation is divided between the beneficent motives of the petitioner and the sagacity he displayed in appealing personally to the rapacious monarch, flattering his vanity by addressing him as supreme head of the Church of England and inveighing against the irregularities of the clergy. So successful indeed was Gresham in his appeal, that Henry declared his intention of granting to the citizens the mansion-house of St. Bartholomew, that of the Grey Friars adjoining, and St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark. The former, together with the house of St. Mary of Bethlehem, had actually been conveyed when the King died, leaving it to his successor to institute a Board of Enquiry to consider the needs of the sick and destitute no longer relieved by the religious houses.

In the result the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the City of London and their successors were incorporated by charter dated the 6th of June, 1553, as perpetual governors of the five Royal Hospitals of St. Bartholomew, Christ, St. Thomas, Bethlehem and Bridewell, and the estates, revenues and privileges previously in possession were secured to them. Of these St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, were intended for the relief of the sick and lame; Christ's Hospital was set apart for the education of fatherless children; Bedlam for lunatics, and Bridewell as a House of Correction. The two former were the only hospitals in London which afforded medical and surgical treatment to the sick and lame, until during the last decade of the seventeenth century Chelsea and Greenwich rose upon Royal foundations for the special reception of disabled soldiers and seamen.

Meanwhile, the closure of the religious houses and the confiscation of their revenues had rendered it necessary to make some further provision for the poor. The probability is that the previous attempt to do so by voluntary contributions

The Five
Royal
Hospitals,
1553

Relief of
Sick and
Impotent
Poor

had failed, or at least proved inadequate to the requirements of the time. Consequently the next Act, 1 Ed. VI, while continuing the collections, made it incumbent upon the authorities of each city, town and hundred to provide cottages or houses at their own cost for the impotent and aged. Settlement, which had become an important matter, as each town was compelled to support its own poor, was defined as the place of birth or three years' residence. But the subscriptions remained voluntary until in 1563 it was enacted that every person who can, but will not, contribute, may be assessed by the justices and committed to prison in default of payment. This led up to the general assessment of the 14 Eliz., fixing the amount of the weekly contribution payable by each inhabitant for the relief of the poor.

1571-2

1575-6

1596-7

The 18 Eliz. orders that workshops and stocks of raw material shall be provided for the employment of the able-bodied poor; and by the 35 Eliz., all parishes are charged to pay from one to six pence weekly for the relief of such as have adventured their lives, and lost their limbs or disabled their bodies in defence and service of Her Majesty and the State.

By the 39 Eliz., c. 3, overseers are to be appointed by each parish, who are to erect convenient dwelling-houses for their impotent poor and to place one or more families in each; and a subsequent Act of the same year orders the provision of Houses of Correction or abiding-houses in each county. A later enactment (1729) authorizes two or more parishes to join together in providing such houses, this being the origin of the Union.

The workhouse infirmary appears to have been, in general, a later creation; for in 1733 the only one in existence within the City and Liberties of Westminster was that belonging to the parish of St. James, situate "in a

street called the Gravel Pits, near Broad Street" (Carnaby Market). The modern workhouse represents the parish workshop for the able-bodied, honest poor, the almshouse for the aged and infirm, and the House of Correction for the idle, the rogue and the vagabond.

During the seventeenth century there was an absence of legislation for the sick and impotent poor, but in 1714 John Bellers, a Quaker philanthropist, published a curious pamphlet entitled, *An Essay towards the improvement in Physick in 12 proposals, by which the lives of many thousands of the rich as well as of the poor may be saved yearly, &c.* The author had issued in 1695, *Proposals for raising a College of Industry of all useful trades and husbandry*, a scheme advocating the community of labour which, even at this distance of time, is frequently quoted by social economists; and another tract containing some suggestions for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. Furthermore, by drawing public attention to the terrible conditions of English prisons and the treatment of their unfortunate occupants, he undoubtedly anticipated the benevolent endeavours of Howard, and not improbably was the means of directing the funds of the society founded in the following year to the same object (see p. 11).

John
Bellers'
Proposals,
1714

But his later essay is more to the present point. Dedicating it to the Parliament of Great Britain, he begins by stating that 20,000 persons die yearly within the Bills of Mortality of London and Westminster, half of whom may reasonably be supposed to succumb to curable diseases for want of timely advice and suitable medicines. And since above three-quarters of the people are too poor to procure either except from charity, he argues that the State should bear a good portion of the expense of carrying out his proposals.

The title of the pamphlet well describes the two principal objects he had in view—the relief of the necessitous sick and the improvement of medical knowledge.

General Hospitals

He commences by advocating the erection of hospitals in or near London for the sick poor; the name of each patient, the daily prescriptions and the result of the treatment to be registered in a book kept for that purpose. With wonderful prescience he suggests the provision at a later date of special hospitals in London for each capital distemper which, judging from the recorded diagnoses of the faculty of that period, consisted of fevers (mostly malarial), consumption, rheumatism, venereal disease and smallpox.

Queen's Hospital

In loyal manner he proposes that one hospital, under the care of the Queen's physicians, should be reserved for those patients whose infirmities our Sovereign may be subject to at any time; thus increasing the knowledge of those diseases and the chances of the Queen's recovery from illness.

Blind

Another hospital should be provided for the blind, especially if the Government does not help them to some suitable employment, and upon the assumption that "when one sense is lost, the others are made more vigorous," he suggests that blind persons should be trained in the tasting of blood and urine—a common practice among the quack doctors of the time.

Incurables

Those who should have been pronounced incurable were to be received in a hospital specially reserved for that purpose, and, with the object of stimulating the invention of new treatment and medicines, any person should be permitted to administer remedies to such patients as were willing to follow their prescriptions. If any such remedy proved many times successful, the secret should be purchased by the State (*cf.* Mrs. Stephens), but at the same time all medicines

advertised as extraordinary should be examined, and public notice given of the result, whether good or bad.

But the most far-reaching of all his proposals, and at the same time the one which has been the most fully adopted, was the appointment, in every hundred of a county or parish of a city, of a physician and surgeon to take care of the sick poor, who should visit each parish at least once a week, being paid by the overseers. In this reference he points out the advantages of a physician being placed within reach of others, besides the poor, at a reduced expense; whereas, under the existing circumstances, London physicians were "so eminent in their profession that it was difficult to get one in full practice to go 20 miles out of town."

For the improvement of physic he advocates the provision of one hospital at least at each of the two universities, with different wards for each distemper, which would afford opportunities for study and experience to those "who at present seek the advantages of the foreign schools."

Further he suggests that the bodies of patients dying in the hospitals should be opened for the better information of the physicians, the universal spreading of knowledge among the faculty, and the future good of the public who may require advice.

As an instance of the difficulties attending the study of anatomy in England, he mentions that "it is not easy for the students to get a body to dissect at Oxford, the mob being so mutinous to prevent their having one."

Other proposals refer to the establishment of a public laboratory for the discovery of new medicines, the examination of the temper and texture of all the fluids of the body, the uses of the natural evacuations, the consequences of their obstruction, and the diseases they produce; to the employment of physicians and surgeons in the East and West Indies

Country
Practi-
tioners

Improve-
ment of
Medical
Knowledge

Post-
mortem
Examina-
tions

Dissections

and America to seek useful medicines of the Indians and negroes ; and to the endowment of the Royal Society to enable them to give gratuities and prizes for discoveries in natural science and mechanics.

The College of Physicians and Company of Surgeons should be subsidized by the State to draw up a summary of advice in both faculties, pointing out common errors in practice for the information of practitioners ; and a committee should attend at the College of Physicians every post-day, in order to correspond with country physicians who might want advice in difficult cases.

Finally, both Houses of Parliament should appoint a committee every session to receive from the College of Physicians an account of the state of medicine and any new discoveries which have been made for its improvement.

Bellers had acquired considerable reputation from his previous publications, and his friendship and correspondence with Sir Hans Sloane are silent evidence of the respect in which both he and his opinions were held.

Proposals so novel and important as these doubtless attracted the attention of others besides his own brethren, even amid the consternation caused by the death of Queen Anne, and the dangers of a disputed succession ; and although his suggestion of general hospitals endowed by the State has not even yet been adopted, the provision of workhouse infirmaries and poor law medical officers has followed upon the lines laid down by him nearly two hundred years ago. It is probable that in answer to his appeal many charitable persons joined hands in promoting the formation of societies for the provision of relief to the sick and needy, of which no record remains.

Particulars of only one such society have been preserved, not in consequence of the magnitude or scope of its dealings,

but because the promoters, though obliged to discontinue their project for a while from lack of funds, succeeded eventually in re-establishing their society upon a more permanent basis.

At the commencement of the first minute book of the Westminster Infirmary are the following details of "A Charitable proposal for relieving the Sick and Needy, and other Distressed Persons."

Westmin-
ster
Charitable
Society,
1715-6

"Notwithstanding the provision settled by our laws, and the collections made by the charity of well-disposed Christians for the relief of the poor, it is obvious to anyone that walks the streets that the same is not sufficient to preserve great numbers of them from beggary, to the great grief of all good men, and the no small reproach of our religion and country, &c.

"Frequent attempts have been made to provide for the poor, but hitherto they have been ineffectual; they must depend upon the voluntary assistance of charitable people, and a Christian spirit on the part of those persons employed to take care of the poor. For this purpose 'A proposal for the more easy and effectual relief of the sick and needy by erecting of voluntary charitable societies' being communicated to some persons who had been engaged in several charitable works, after some meetings, resolved to undertake and carry on the design mentioned in the said proposal; and agreed to meet once a week, and have now actually begun to do so. They invite others to join them in the following design:—

"(1) The society proposes to provide poor sick people in want of relief and assistance with necessary food and physick during illness; to procure them the advice of physicians or assistance of surgeons, and to allow them nurses when necessary, and engage some charitable women

to assist and comfort them, and report their condition and wants. If the sick person has a pension from the parish, or a right to one, the society will inform the parish officers and ask for relief for them.

“(2) Many poor, honest women with child are turned out of their lodgings when near their time (when their pains are upon them), and want necessaries during their lying-in, whereby they lose their own and infants' lives ; the society proposes to provide them with necessaries during lying-in, and with nurses if they have no friend or relation.

“(3) Nothing can be more miserable to a poor sick person than confinement in a close, unwholesome place (such as prisons commonly are) ; the society proposes to visit the prisons and supply sick prisoners with such necessaries as their stock affords.

“(4) Many poor strangers from different parts of the world suffer extreme hardships ; the society proposes to relieve them and help them to return to their native country.

“(5) The society designs to reclaim the souls of the sick and in order to this, to give notice to the minister of the parish of their state and abode, who will visit them, or to procure some clergyman to attend them.

“In order to carry out this design it will be necessary to establish particular societies in distant parts of the city, and if it shall succeed, in every parish thereof, who will mutually assist the general society. It will also be necessary to have certain places for repositories for things sent for the relief and supply of the sick, some honest persons to look after them, and a messenger to do the society's business. Rich persons are asked to give money, and others to send broken victuals, old clothes, linen, beds, bedding, chairs, stools, pots, dishes, glasses, &c. ; those of either sex, having leisure, to visit, comfort, read to the sick, make and mend

for them, prepare cordial waters and solicit subscriptions ; and physicians, surgeons and apothecaries to give their assistance."¹

The early meetings of the promoters appear to have been held at St. Dunstan's Coffee-house, which was situated in or near Fleet Street, and at the first of these, on January 14, 1715-6, Mr. Henry Hoare, Mr. William Wogan, Mr. Robert Witham and the Rev. Patrick Cockburn, consulted together upon the most effectual methods for the relief of the sick and the needy. Mr. Hoare had succeeded his father, Sir Richard, in the business of goldsmith and banker founded upon the site still occupied by that firm. According to the epitaph upon his tombstone, "he lived under a settled habit of private charities," and died in March, 1724-5, at his Fleet Street house, which was situated in the parish of St. Dunstan, leaving legacies to St. Bartholomew's and Bethlehem Hospitals, but not to the Westminster Infirmary.² Mr. Wogan was probably identical with one of the same name who lived to see the secession to Lanesborough House, and to become an original trustee and governor of the new institution.

Mr. Witham was probably a brewer, and the Rev. Patrick Cockburn was formerly curate of St. Dunstan's, from which he was ejected as a Non-juror in 1714, after which he is said to have made a scanty living for a time by teaching Latin in a school in Chancery Lane.³ It is probable that he made the acquaintance of Mr. Hoare during his association with St. Dunstan's, and thus obtained his sympathy and assistance for the charitable proposal.

¹ Five hundred copies of this Proposal "stitched in blew paper," were ordered to be printed.

² Hoare, *History of Modern Wilts*, i., p. 56.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

The first business transacted was a resolution directing that the sum of £10 should be disposed of for the relief of prisoners in Newgate, King's Bench, the Fleet, Whitechapple, the Clink and Marshalsea prisons, particular regard being paid to those who were sick. A messenger was to be engaged and maintained at the charge of the society, and inquiry made for "some charitable housekeepers willing to allot a room in their house for a repository for the use of the sick, and to take care of the same till the society can hire places for that purpose."

On the 6th of February, it was announced that a patient sick of a leprosy had been placed in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 18s. deposit and the charges of admission being paid, showing that the society possessed no accommodation of its own. On the 12th of March, it was agreed that anything given to the use of the poor is to be sent to the Repository at Mrs. Sherman's,¹ the Bird Cage House, in the Park, and a fortnight later it was reported that utensils, linen, &c., may be sent to Mrs. Ruxton's house in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, who has allotted a room for the same. Contributors are to be informed that they may recommend patients, and they are to be furnished with the messenger's address, so that on receipt of notice from them he may attend upon such sick persons and report their cases to the society in order that they may be visited and taken care of. At the beginning of April, the financial position being unsatisfactory, it was decided to *admit* no more patients till contributions came in, and that "our principal care shall be confined to the sick and needy persons of St. Margaret's parish, Westminster, until our stock increases."

¹ Mrs. Sherman was presumably a midwife, for on the same day she was instructed to visit a woman in St. Ann's Lane, and to assist in her lying-in.

Hitherto it has been thought that the society received patients in their house in Bird Cage Walk, and it is easy to see how the idea originated. But the word *admit* used in the above reference had at that time the meaning of *admission to the benefits of the charity*, in which sense it is frequently met with, in reference to out-patients, in various minute books.

Furthermore, a careful reading of the proposal, combined with the above details concerning the provision of repositories, goes far to show that the latter were utilized, not for the reception of the patients, but for the storage of goods, which was the original intention of the promoters.

Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Colbatch, in order to show his thankfulness to God for his recovery from a most dangerous illness, offered his services as one of the physicians without fee or reward ; and a Mr. Savile appears to have acted as apothecary. A curious light is thrown upon the custom of the time by a minute which records that the latter, having visited a patient in Tuttle Fields who, he reported, was suffering from dropsy, was ordered to administer the same medicine to her as was given to another who had lately been cured of that disease.

In order to furnish the society with medicines at the cheapest rate, Mr. Savile was desired to purchase an alembic (still) and other necessary utensils, with herbs, drugs, &c. But, in spite of this and other economies, the society, which throughout its chronicled career apparently consisted of the four original promoters alone, aided by the benefactions of others, terminated its minutes and its existence, just four months after its inception.

Its short history would be worthy of more than passing mention, were it only in consequence of its being the first charitable society founded for the relief of the sick to be

supported entirely by voluntary contributions. But, in addition, it forms a connecting link in the chain of sick relief dispensed by the early gilds, by the religious houses, by the church collections for the impotent poor ordered by the Statute of 1536, by the Royal foundations of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, and by the general hospitals of modern times. The eloquent appeal of the Quaker, John Bellers, finds its echo in the proposals of this little society of four; but the effort dies away in the near distance, until gaining fresh force, it strikes the chord of human sympathy and awakens the charitable rich to the needs of their humble brethren.

West-
minster
Infirmary,
1719

The first meeting of the "Trustees and Managers of the Charity for relieving the sick and needy" was held at St. Dunstan's Coffee-house, the headquarters of the earlier society, on December 2, 1719.

"After long intermission, it having pleased Almighty God to stir up the hearts of some persons to revive the charitable design of relieving the sick and needy, the following persons (among whom were Mr. Henry Hoare, Mr. W. Wogan and the Rev. Andrew Trebeck) met to consider the most proper and effectual methods for putting the same into execution." They decided that nothing would more effectually answer the end proposed than the establishment of an infirmary in St. Margaret's parish (there being nothing of that sort within the populous City and Liberties of Westminster) to be supported by voluntary contributions from year to year. For this purpose a subscription roll was prepared, with the following preamble.

Preamble
to Sub-
scription
Roll

"Whereas great numbers of sick persons in this city languish for want of necessaries, and too often die miserably, who are not entitled to parochial relief; and whereas amongst those who do receive relief from their respective parishes,

many suffer extremely and are sometimes lost, partly from want of accommodation and proper medicine in their own houses or lodgings (the closeness and unwholesomeness of which is too often one great cause of their sickness), partly by the imprudent laying out of what is allowed and by the ignorance and ill-management of those about them: We, whose names are underwritten, in obedience to the rules of our holy religion, desiring so far as in us lies to find some remedy for this great misery of our poor neighbours, do subscribe the following sums of money to be paid by us yearly (during pleasure), by quarterly payments, for the procuring, furnishing and defraying the necessary expenses of an infirmary or place of entertainment for such poor sick persons, inhabiting in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, or others who shall be recommended by any of the subscribers or benefactors, with the approbation and consent of the major part of the trustees present (it is resolved that all subscribers shall be trustees of this charity); who are likewise empowered to allow suitable relief to such sick persons, approved in the manner above mentioned, as are incapable of being removed from their respective abodes."

Premises were soon afterwards taken in Petty France, the 1719-20 first out-patient being "*admitted*" on the 10th of February, and the first in-patient on the 11th of May, following, by which date the institution had become known as the Westminster Public Infirmary. As time went on this building was found unequal to the requirements of the charity, which in 1724 was moved to Chapel Street.

At the commencement of the year 1732, in consequence of the reports of several surveyors that the house was very old, could not stand long and might tumble down, the governors, finding their financial position sufficiently satisfactory to take over a larger, more substantial and airier

building, decided to advertise for suitable premises. At length some houses situated in James Street and Castle Lane, close to the site of the earlier institution in Petty France, were offered to the governors by Mr. Green, a vice-president of the charity, and a committee was formed to view the premises and report to the next board. On the 20th of June, 1733, this committee, comprising Drs. Teissier, Stuart and Wasey, Mr. Aspinwall, Captain Hudson, Serjeant Amyand and others, reported that, after an examination of the premises, they thought them convenient and suitable for the service of the infirmary. Six months' notice was thereupon given to Mr. John Nicholls, at the Earl of Pembroke's in St. James's Square, that the trustees intended on or before Christmas Day following to vacate the house which they rented of him in Chapel Street, Westminster.

On the 7th of September, a general board confirmed the report of the committee that the three houses in Castle Lane were convenient for the uses of the infirmary, and then it was that the first mention was made of an alternative scheme.

The
Secession

A letter from Mr. Lane to Dr. Stuart relating to Lanesborough House, near Hyde Park Corner, being read, it was decided that that house was not so convenient, and another committee, comprising those formerly mentioned, together with Dr. Ross, Mr. Cheselden, Mr. Dickins, and Dr. John Wiggan as chairman, was appointed to agree finally with Mr. Green for a lease of one or more of his three houses, as they should think most proper, at a rent of £36, £14 and £13 per annum.

September
27, 1733

This committee, which included the whole of the medical and surgical staff of the hospital, *all of whom eventually seceded*, reported to the next general board that they had completed an agreement with Mr. Green; but, in consequence

of some objections being raised, it was decided to postpone further action for six weeks, so that the Bishop of Winchester,¹ the president of the infirmary, might be consulted.

It appears that very shortly after this date it became known to some of the governors that a lease of Lanesborough House had been granted by Mr. Lane to certain of the committee, who were in favour of an establishment in the upper as against the lower part of Westminster.²

Accordingly, without waiting for the Bishop's opinion, and possibly remembering that he had criticized adversely a previous suggestion for the purchase of land for building purposes in much the same situation, Mr. Green's offer of the premises in Castle Lane was finally accepted.

The secession was thus an accomplished fact, and on the following day, Drs. Stuart and Wasey, the acting physicians, and Mr. Wilkie, the surgeon in ordinary, acquainted the board that they desired to be excused from attending the poor sick in the house any longer than the society can furnish themselves with other officers, but that at the same time they intended to continue members of the society by subscribing, and would be willing at any time to serve them.

Thereupon the two Serjeant-Surgeons were desired to attend the infirmary when requested on any extraordinary occasions, to which they were pleased to consent; and six days later substitutes were appointed in the place of

October 10,
1733

October 16,
1733

¹ This was Richard Willis, who was likewise the first president of St. George's.

² This lease for seven years was dated September 20, 1733, and was granted to Drs. Stuart, Wasey and Teissier, Serjeant-Surgeons Dickins and Amyand and Mr. Thomas Smith, in trust for the new society.

Drs. Stuart and Wasey, and Mr. Wilkie. It is noteworthy that, whereas the resignations of Dr. Teissier and the two Serjeant-Surgeons are neither recorded in the minutes, nor in the announcement advertised in the *Daily Courant* (October 19, 1733), the modern lists of the Westminster staff show them to have vacated their appointments at this time; while Mr. Wilkie's name is absent from the list of surgeons, probably in consequence of his having received a salary for certain services over and above those of surgeon in ordinary. These resignations were followed by the discharge of Mr. John Aldridge, the house apothecary, who had notified the board that he desired to quit their service, and he went over with the physicians and surgeons to the establishment at Lanesborough House.

St.
George's
Hospital
Minutes

On October 19, 1733, the first general meeting of the promoters of, and subscribers to, the new society was held at Mr. Carey's, in Golden Square, and three days later it was announced that the Lord Bishop of Winchester was inclined to promote and encourage the institution near Hyde Park Corner, of which he was thereupon elected a trustee or governor.

November
2, 1733

At a general meeting, held for the first time at Lanesborough House, the Bishop was present, though he did not preside; and it was resolved "that notwithstanding the physicians and surgeons have promised to serve this society, such their service shall not preclude them from serving the other society in the low part of Westminster when required, which will be highly agreeable to this society."

The only member of the staff who availed himself of this concession was William Cheselden, who apparently had resigned his appointment as one of the principal surgeons to the Westminster Infirmary, with his colleagues, the two Sergeant-Surgeons. But whereas their connection with

the parent institution was finally severed, he was immediately appointed consulting surgeon thereto, and at the same time joined them as one of the principal surgeons to the new establishment at Hyde Park Corner.

A week later the board declared themselves "willing at any time to concert proper measures with the board in Chapel Street, Westminster, to render this common society more extensive and effectual"; and ordered that the Bishop should be acquainted with this resolution, and his opinion asked "touching the division of the cash in the bank there."

At the following meeting Captain Hudson, who had been one of the treasurers at Westminster, and had been elected to a similar office here, was desired not to part with the key of the iron chest at the infirmary in Chapel Street without the order of this board. Some discussion then arose as to the interest of several of the subscribers in the cash and bonds locked up there, which approximated £2,000; and the chairman was desired to write a letter to the treasurer upon the subject, which letter (appended) was duly delivered in person.

November
16, 1733

"HYDE PARK CORNER,

"November 23, 1733.

"SIR,—Our general board, to show the desire of a coalition with yours in Chapel Street, have unanimously resolved that they would at any time be ready to concert proper measures with yours to render the common charity more extensive and effectual. This they have desired me to communicate to you that, if any expedient could be found to bring about such a coalition, nothing would be wanting on their part towards completing it. I am also to acquaint you that such of your subscribers as are subscribers here are very desirous that the treasure locked up in the chest should be laid out for the purpose to which it was intended.

West-
minster
Hospital
Minutes,
January 2,
1733-4

And if any difficulty should arise in the distribution of it, in which they claim a right, they are willing to refer it to the private determination of the Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, or Lord Chief Baron, or to two or three indifferent persons of each board. In the meantime they have desired Captain Hudson not to part with his key without their consent. You will be pleased to lay this before your general board, that such measures may be taken by both boards as will best promote and extend the charity.

“Sir, your most obedient servant,
 (Signed) “JER. GRIFFITH, *Chairman.*”

St.
 George's
 Hospital
 Minutes

There the matter remained until January 11, 1733-4, when the chairman acquainted the board that he had received the following reply from Mr. Thurston, the chairman of the board in Chapel Street.

West-
 minster
 Hospital
 Minutes

(*Reply.*) “PUBLIC INFIRMARY IN WESTMINSTER,
 “January 8, 1733-4.

“SIR,—Agreeably to your desire by your letter of 23rd of November last, Mr. Hayward, our treasurer, laid the same before our quarterly general board, who are pleased to return for answer that conformable to your desires they will, as they have hitherto done, heartily use all expedients to render this charity as extensive and effectual as possible, and that they will duly apply the money in the chest to the purposes for which it was intended by the benefactors and donors, the distribution of which they are advised by council is lodged in them, as the majority of the society before your separation, according to the tenor of the subscription roll; and therefore conceive there can be no occasion for any reference about it.

“(MARK THURSTON),
 “*Chairman.*”

“ Thereupon it was resolved, that to avoid contention and to promote the charity carried on as well there as here, notwithstanding the undoubted right which, by the opinion of eminent counsel, the members of this board as subscribers there have to the distribution of the cash there, Captain Hudson be at liberty to deliver up the key when required, and the following week the latter reported that he had delivered it accordingly to the treasurer of the board at Chapel Street.”

St.
George's
Hospital
Minutes

Here the controversy might have ended, but a written case or statement of the causes and incidents of the secession from a St. George's point of view had been privately circulated by the governors, doubtless with the idea of putting themselves right with the wealthy public.

“ Case,” privately circulated in the form of written copies before amendment by the Bishop of Winchester, to be found at the commencement of the first minute-book of St. George's Hospital; apparently in the handwriting of Mr. Thomas Smith, the first secretary and register.

“ In the year 1719 an infirmary was erected by subscription in Westminster for the relief of such poor sick and disabled persons as should appear to be real objects of charity. For this purpose the subscribers fitted up a house in Petty France, and the undertaking succeeded so well that in the year 1724 they found themselves obliged to hire a larger house in Chapel Street, and in both these places they have, from their first foundation to Michaelmas, 1733, relieved, and for the most part cured, near 4,000 persons, and over and above their furniture, utensils and medicines they have acquired in India Bonds and cash above £2,000. The subscribers, finding their patients and their stock increasing, have for about two years past busied themselves much about

St.
George's
Hospital
Written
“ Case ”

two things: the one was to procure a charter for their incorporation and the other a larger, more substantial and more airy building to entertain their patients. To quicken them as to the latter they were informed by several surveyors that the house in Chapel Street was very old, could not stand long, and might soon tumble down, and therefore every subscriber became solicitous to remove. But although much pains and industry had been used and several buildings had been viewed and many advertisements published enquiring after a large building in an airy situation, yet none could be found fit for the purpose till about June or July last, when some of the subscribers had reason to hope that Lanesborough House at Hyde Park Corner might be procured. About the same time Mr. Green offered some of his houses in and about Castle Lane in the low part of Westminster, and his proposal was referred to a committee of thirty gentlemen of distinction, who had been before appointed to manage and conduct the affair of the charter. This committee considered the proposal, but not agreeing with Mr. Green upon the terms proposed, nothing further was then done. The committee, however, went on with the affair of the charter, and having before petitioned the King and got a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor General, they procured a report in favour of a charter. This committee being of opinion that Lanesborough House would be very proper for their purpose, they applied to the owners, who after some difficulty were prevailed on to consent to grant a lease upon reasonable terms. While this was in agitation Mr. Green thought fit to renew his proposals about his houses, and a general board was called the 7th of September last to consider them. At that board Dr. Stuart acquainted them that he had been inquiring after Lanesborough House for their use and that he had a letter from Mr. Lane, one of

the owners, desiring that they would defer for a few days their agreeing about any other house and they should have his answer. But the board thought fit to refuse to read Mr. Lane's letter till they had first resolved that Mr. Green's houses were most convenient and proper for them. Then they read the letter and resolved that Lanesborough House was not proper and they appointed a committee to agree with Mr. Green, and ordered the charter committee to proceed no further till they had made their report. Soon after this Mr. Lane consented to grant a lease of Lanesborough House at sixty pounds a year rent, and this was made known at a general board the 27th of September last. But the board absolutely refused to agree to it and were for immediately executing a lease of Mr. Green's houses, and they would have done it then, if Mr. Green himself had not desired it might be suspended for six weeks till he should consult the Bishop of Winchester about it. And they then dissolved the charter committee and appointed another committee to draw up a petition to oppose it, which was done and presented accordingly. However, all the physicians and many of the gentlemen originally and principally concerned in carrying on the undertaking from its first foundation, together with many others who have since zealously concurred in promoting it, were unanimously of opinion that a lease of Lanesborough House should be taken as being, on account of the largeness and strength of the building and the airiness of its situation, very convenient to answer the ends of this charity. And, they agreed that in case they should not be able to prevail on the rest of the subscribers to join with them, they would open a subscription for erecting a new hospital there for the same purposes. Accordingly, Lanesborough House was taken, and it being made known to the general board on Tuesday,

the 16th inst., and some heats and differences being occasioned thereby, the Rev. Mr. Andrew Trebeck, to compose those differences addressed himself to the general board, and in conclusion, to show his impartiality as well in practice as profession, he proposed that his subscription should extend equally to both the charities, he having been a contributor to the Westminster Infirmary from its earliest infancy. This exhortation not having the desired effect, the gentlemen who had undertaken to erect the infirmary at Lanesborough House set themselves vigorously to work to procure subscriptions, and having in two days time met with great success therein, they agreed to have their first general meeting at Mr. Carey's, in Golden Square, on Friday, the 19th day of October, 1733."

(Mr. Carey's identity has not been fixed. He was not a subscriber to either institution, but it is possible that he was the then tenant of the late Lord Lanesborough's town house in Golden Square.)

Meanwhile, one of the Westminster subscribers had accepted a brief on behalf of his own party, and had written a letter which appeared in the daily press, in which certain allegations were made against those who had headed the secession. This was subsequently published in the form of a leaflet entitled *A DEFENCE of the majority of the Infirmary at Westminster against a small minority of it.*

West-
minster
Hospital
Defence

A Letter from a Subscriber to the Westminster Infirmary residing in Westminster to a Subscriber living in the Country.

"SIR,—I am favoured with yours of the 1st instant. Your affectionate enquiry after us is obliging; your surprise at our late unhappy differences is no more than I expected. Where numbers are to act together, that there should be

amongst them some diversity of opinions is nothing new (in which case the sense of the majority is usually conclusive); but when a society of gentlemen, embarked in the same common design of doing good (each of whom, it is to be hoped, could have nothing in view but to promote, with their own private purses, the welfare and happiness of such of their fellow-creatures as stood most in need of their assistance), carry their divisions to such a height as to separate from each other, to separate with anger and resentment, and cut off all hopes of reunion; to account for this is a task too difficult for me. Faults there must have been; in whom I will not presume to determine: but as you are pleased to honour us with your continuance in *the subsisting Infirmary at Westminster*, to which you was an original subscriber, you are justly entitled to the following plain narrative of facts, from which you may probably form such a judgment of the present posture of our affairs as will enable you to give a competent satisfaction to those gentlemen of your neighbourhood, who are not prejudiced against us.

"In the year 1719, the late Mr. Henry Hoare, and several other well-disposed gentlemen, desirous to lay the foundation of a most beneficent and extensive charity—viz., *That of providing for such sick and needy persons as were destitute of proper assistance, and oftentimes of common necessaries*; after frequent meetings and due consideration, concurred at last in opinion, that nothing would more effectually answer the end proposed than fixing an infirmary in St. Margaret's parish, Westminster (a part of the town where something of this sort seemed to be most wanted), and supporting the same by voluntary subscriptions from year to year. Accordingly, they formed themselves into a society, took a house in Petty France for this purpose,

afterwards removed into Chapel Street (where they now are), and are known by the name of *The Society for Relieving the Sick and Needy at the Public Infirmary, in Westminster.*

“ For the encouragement they have met with, and the success they have had, I refer you to the account annually published; neither need I inform you (who have seen the preamble to the subscription-roll, and have sometimes favoured us with your presence, both at our weekly meetings and general boards) that every subscriber (be the sum subscribed by him more or less) is a trustee for, and governor of, this charity; and that by a majority of these all orders relating to the charity have from time to time been made, altered, or reversed as occasion required.

“ Inconveniences and abuses will sometimes be found in the best institutions, and an early discovery was made amongst us, that the drugs and medicines laid in for our use were neither in quality nor price such as answered our intentions; an inconvenience owing (it was thought) to the manner of providing them. Gentlemen who saw this abuse, and knew how to reform it, proposed their schemes, but were always opposed and overruled. At length the matter grew too flagrant to be longer connived at, and at a full meeting of the society an order was made to the following purport, viz., *That the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and druggists who were of the society, should be a standing committee for the inspection and approbation of such medicines and drugs as it should be thought necessary to provide for the use of the infirmary. That this committee should meet every first Monday in the month, at which time two of the apothecaries (who were to take their turn by rotation) should lay before them for their inspection such medicines and drugs as the physicians should direct; and*

as the committee approved or disapproved thereof, they should be purchased or rejected.

“ This committee has answered all our expectations ; the medicines are no longer defective ; and this important article of our expenses is, I assure you, lessened to a surprising degree.

“ After this proper enquiries were made into other abuses which nearly concerned the welfare and credit of the society, and such enquiries strenuously opposed, for what reasons the opposers best know, but it was happy for us that the reformers were a majority. The last effort to distress our measures was a scheme formed to move the infirmary to Lanesborough House, by which we of this neighbourhood should have been rendered incapable, as it were, of attending the public business of the society with such assiduity as was requisite. This project was disapproved of by much the greatest part of our society, who were desirous (when our circumstances would permit us to extend our charity by augmenting the number of patients) of removing to some houses proposed to us by our worthy benefactor, Mr. Green, which in our judgments were more commodious, both for us and the poor people under our care. This contrariety of opinions concerning the different houses proposed occasioned some warm debates ; to calm which for the present it was proposed at a general board, unanimously resolved, and an entry of such resolution made upon our books, That the further consideration of this matter should be suspended for six weeks, *and that no new house at all should be taken or contracted for till after the expiration of that time.*¹ Is it to be credited that immediately after this solemn resolution

¹ Reference to the Westminster minutes shows that the words in italics were not entered therein.

(or before it) Lanesborough House was actually taken for an infirmary by some gentlemen who consented to the suspension for six weeks? The consequence you'll easily imagine. A separation ensued, the first step to which was a formal resignation made by the physicians and surgeon. Surprised and grieved thus to find ourselves at once deprived of the most useful instruments for carrying on our design, and the poor under our protection thus unexpectedly left destitute of proper care and relief, we made immediate application for assistance to Dr. Wigan and Dr. Cotes as physicians, and Mr. Pyle as surgeon, all three subscribers to the charity.¹

"Since the separation everything has succeeded to our wishes; strife and debates are no longer amongst us; private views are sunk in the common cause; new subscribers pour in upon us; the old ones double their subscriptions; we act with one heart and voice; each member is satisfied and all is well. This pleasing prospect has encouraged us to agree with Mr. Green for three houses contiguous to each other, which (as I before observed) are exceeding proper for our purpose; and I doubt not but in a short time I shall have the pleasure of informing you that we are capable of receiving and relieving above twice as many in-patients as we have hitherto had.

"The quantity of our stock you'll see upon the balance of the last year's accounts. The report you mention of a division of this between the old and new infirmary is groundless. We have upon this head consulted the ablest counsel in the kingdom, who assure us, *That as the members*

¹ This is not strictly accurate; the retiring staff, medical and surgical, "desired to be excused from attending the poor sick in the house any longer than the society can furnish themselves with other officers," but would be willing at any time to serve them.

of the subsisting infirmary at Westminster were greatly the majority of the whole, the disposal of the money in bank is solely in them; and that nothing can wrest it out of their hands but mal-application, an event not to be supposed.

“If we are driven into courts of law (which I own I cannot fear), be assured, Sir, we shall, with a spirit and resolution becoming the trustees of so laudable a charity, open our purses in defence of our undoubted rights.

“I cannot conclude without informing you (what a temper benevolent as yours will rejoice to hear) that the new infirmary at Lanesborough House goes on well; their subscription-roll already swells with the names of persons of quality, worth, and fortune (some of which are likewise subscribers to us). May the members thereof be truly successful in all their endeavours to do good; may they be as zealous and unanimous in these endeavours as those from whom they have divided; and may the division itself (which our weaker judgments dreaded as hurtful to the charity) be, in the hands of an all-wise Providence, a means of making it more diffusive is the earnest prayer of,

“Sir,

“Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

“_____.

“Westminster, Dec., 1733.”

This letter was brought to the notice of the St. George's board, who remonstrated with their late colleagues without obtaining a satisfactory answer; whereupon it was decided that the written case should be sent to the Bishop for revision and amendment, and that 2,000 copies in that form should be printed and published. One of these copies is preserved in the British Museum.

An Account of the Occasion and Manner of Erecting a Hospital at Lanesborough House, near Hyde Park Corner. Published by Order of the General Board of Governors there, Wednesday, February the 6th, 1733.

“Several well-disposed persons, having long observed that there was no hospital within the liberty of Westminster for the relief of the many poor, sick and lame objects that offered ; and that such a hospital was absolutely necessary in so large and populous a city ; those in London being by no means sufficient ; they therefore agreed to set on foot a subscription for an infirmary there to relieve such poor, sick and lame persons, as should appear to the subscribers to be proper objects of charity.

Accordingly, in the year 1719, a subscription was opened and a house was taken and fitted up in Petty France, which being found too small, they in the year 1724, removed to Chapel Street, where they have ever since continued.

In both these places great numbers have been cured, as appears from their printed accounts, under the care and by the charitable assistance of Dr. Alexander Stuart, Physician to Her Majesty ; Dr. George Lewis Teissier, Physician to His Majesty's Household, and Dr. William Wasey, as physicians ; Ambrose Dickens and Claudius Amyand, Esqrs., Sergeant-Surgeons to His Majesty, and William Cheselden, Esq., Surgeon to Her Majesty, as principal surgeons ; and Mr. James Wilkie as surgeon in ordinary.

These gentlemen were also subscribers to this charity ; and to their concurring labours the society have always hitherto most thankfully acknowledged the preservation of the lives of their patients, under God, to be owing.

About two years since, the stock of the society increasing beyond expectations, and their house being still too small, as well as old and ruinous, it became necessary to remove ; and

therefore advertisements were published by order of the board for several weeks together, inquiring after a large and substantial building, in an airy situation, within the city, or liberty of Westminster,

At length some houses of Mr. Green's in and about Castle Lane, in the lower part of Westminster, and Lanesborough House in the higher part of it, being proposed to the general board, a question arose which should be preferred.

The majority were for the former, and they accordingly voted that Mr. Green's houses were convenient for them, and that Lanesborongh House was not so, and they appointed a committee finally to agree with Mr. Green.

The minority, though overruled, were not convinced.

Among the minority were all the above-named physicians and surgeons, together with several who had been concerned in the charity from its first establishment, and some who had laid the foundation of it several years before ; besides many others who had been very active and useful instruments in carrying it on since.

All these (whose subscriptions at Lady Day last, with those of their friends brought in by them, have been computed to amount to above the half of the whole) were of opinion that there was no place about this town more proper for their purpose than Lanesborough House.

An hospital there on account of its neighbourhood could give no offence to anyone, the building was large and strong and many of the rooms were so contrived as if they had been built for the uses to which they were now to be applied ; it was near enough to the town to be supplied with all the necessaries that could be wanting ; so near that the governors might attend without inconveniency ; and yet far enough for the patients to have the benefit of a country air ; which in the general opinion of the physicians would be more effectual

than physick in the cure of many distempers, especially such as mostly affect the poor, who live in close and confined places within these great cities.

For these reasons they resolved to take Lanesborough House, and, if possible, to persuade the majority to join with them.

But finding at a subsequent general board that their brethren were absolutely determined against it, and that it was in vain to hope for their concurrence, they, the minority, agreed that they ought not to let slip so advantageous an opportunity of removing; and therefore they completed their agreement at £60 a year, resolving to carry on the same charity there.

Thereupon the physicians and surgeons acquainted the board that Lanesborough House was taken, that they were resolved to carry their charity and attendance thither, that they could not attend both, but they would attend in Chapel Street, till other physicians and surgeons should be provided, and if at any time their assistance should be wanted they would be ready to attend when desired.

Thus began the separation, which has proved of great service to the charity, for now by the zeal and emulation of both societies, they will probably be able to entertain above four times the number of patients they have hitherto done.

Immediately after this the society in Chapel Street chose other physicians and surgeons, and the gentlemen at Lanesborough House set themselves vigorously to work to lay the foundation of their new hospital.

For that purpose they met almost every evening, and procured not only the by-laws of all the hospitals about the town, but also the by-laws of several hospitals in foreign parts, out of which to collect such rules and orders as should best suit their occasions; and having well weighed and considered the

undertaking, they formed themselves into a regular society on Friday, the 19th of October, 1733.

Since that time they have collected and digested a regular body of laws, for the government of themselves, their servants and their patients, extracted for the most part from the several by-laws that have been laid before them.

And as they had reason to apprehend that an inconvenience might arise by permitting small subscribers to be governors, no man is qualified to be a governor there that does not contribute £5 a year; and even then he must be proposed a fortnight before he can be chosen, which is at last done by a ballot.

Such is their caution in the choice of their governors, of whom nevertheless they have already about 150, and from whom, as well as from several ladies of quality and distinction, they have received very generous and beneficent contributions.

The hospital is now fitted up and made much more complete than could have been expected out of a dwelling house. It will at present contain 60 patients; but as the boundaries of their ground will admit of new buildings for several spacious and airy wards, large enough to lodge some hundreds of patients better and more commodiously than any other hospital about this town, they propose to erect such buildings as soon as their circumstances shall enable them.

They began to receive patients on New Year's Day last and several in- and out-patients were then received, and they continue so to do every Wednesday morning until 10 of the clock. They will admit as many in-patients as their house will contain; and out-patients according to their ability.

They have in their house an apothecary and a complete shop, and all the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, chymists

and druggists are a committee to buy the drugs and other materials for making the medicines there; under whose inspection all the medicines are made, and the following apothecaries, viz., John Warren and Daniel Graham, Esqrs., Apothecaries to His Majesty; John Allen, Esq., Apothecary to His Majesty's Household; Mr. Isaac Rand, Botany Professor of Chelsea College; Mr. John Clarke, Mr. Andrew Mitchell, Mr. Thomas Graham and Mr. James Fraser, attend by rotation as visitors to see them duly dispensed according to the prescriptions of the physicians.

Among other regulations the following is proper here to be inserted, which is: That no person belonging to this hospital presumes, upon pain of expulsion, to take of any in- or out-patient any fee, reward or gratification whatever, directly or indirectly for any services received from this hospital either while they are under the care of the house or after they shall be discharged.

Dr. Stuart, Dr. Wasey, Dr. Broxholme, Dr. Burton, and Dr. Ross, who are all governors, have consented to be the acting physicians there without fee or reward; the patients are visited by them three times a week; they all meet there every Saturday together and they attend by rotation every Wednesday morning at 9 to examine the patients that are recommended.

Mr. Serjeants Dickens and Amyand and Mr. Cheselden have consented to be principal surgeons and Mr. Wilkie and Mr. Middleton are the surgeons in ordinary. These gentlemen are also governors, and serve without fee or reward.

Several eminent divines have agreed to attend the patients daily for their spiritual comfort and instruction, and two of the governors are weekly appointed, who attend every day as visitors to hear complaints and to see the orders of the board punctually obeyed.

As the business of this hospital hath been too much for the governors to manage in a body, they have appointed several committees, who all act with that zeal, integrity and application as become men who have only in view the honour and service of Almighty God, the public happiness and prosperity of their country and the support and relief of their fellow creatures in distress.

N.B.—The great number of objects that daily offer are sufficient to show the usefulness and necessity of hospitals of this kind ; and tho' Guy's Hospital, a noble endowment, hath been lately erected, yet more are still visibly wanted, and 'tis hoped the example of these gentlemen may be a means to induce other well disposed persons to make this kind of charity more diffuse and extend it to other parts of the kingdom.

P.S.—As the physicians attend every Wednesday morning punctually at 9, the contributors to this charity are desired to direct the patients to be there at that hour, the board having made an order that none should be received after 10.”¹

Meanwhile, the trustees of the Public Infirmary in Westminster learning that their conduct was misrepresented by some gentlemen separated from them, and that a written case was privately handed about, thought it necessary to publish an account of their proceedings.

“ The trustees finding themselves (by the blessing) in a condition to enlarge and extend the charity did, at a weekly board held on the 6th of December, 1732, order that an advertisement should be inserted and continued in the *Daily Advertiser* for six days successively inviting persons who had

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minster
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21 January,
1733-4

¹ This account was reprinted in leaflet form together with the letter of the anonymous Westminster subscriber.

any large houses to let or sell to bring in their proposals to them and by a subsequent order of the 10th of January following the same advertisement was directed to be republished in the same paper three days in a week alternately until an order to the contrary, which was accordingly done. In consequence of these advertisements many houses were proposed all which were considered, and as they appeared unfit for the purpose of an infirmary, were rejected. Whilst the trustees were thus at a loss, at a weekly board held the 13th of June, 1733, certain houses in James Street, Westminster and Castle Lane adjoining (part of the estate of Mr. Green), were proposed, upon which it was ordered at the same board that Dr. Teissier, Dr. Stuart, Dr. Wasey, Mr. Aspinwall, Captain Hudson, Mr. Ayers, Mr. Moody, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Serjeant Amyand should be a committee to view these houses on Friday then next and that their report should be made on the Wednesday following.

On Wednesday the 20th of the same month, pursuant to the last mentioned order, the committee reported that upon examination of the said houses they were of opinion they were very convenient and suitable for the infirmary. Such report made, it was ordered that a then subsisting committee (of which most of the above-named gentlemen with many others of the trustees were members) should treat with Mr. Green for these houses and make their report to the next quarterly general board.

On the 28th of the same month of June a quarterly general board was held and it was hoped that some considerable progress had been made in the affair, but to the surprise of the gentlemen then attending, the committee reported that on account of some difficulties the treaty ended and in course the power of the committee ceased.

The 29th of August following being a weekly board the gentlemen were acquainted that Mr. Green, willing to promote the charity as much as possible, was ready to accommodate the trustees with the proposed and approved houses even in such as he believed must be agreeable to them, upon which it was ordered that a general board should be held on the 7th of September then next to receive and consider the proposal. On the 7th of September a general board was accordingly held, when Mr. Green's proposals being laid before them the question was put whether the said houses would be convenient for the use of an infirmary or not and carried in the affirmative. And then a letter from Mr. Lane to Dr. Stuart relating to the Lanesborough House at the request of the Dr. being read the same question was put in relation to that house and passed in the negative, then a committee was appointed to contract and finally agree with Mr. Green for his houses and Dr. Wigan, Mr. Edmund Fitzgerald, Mr. Gwyn, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Stagg, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Ayers, Mr. Browning, Dr. Teissier, Mr. Serjt. Amyand, Mr. Cheselden, Dr. Ross, Mr. Pyle, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Churchill, the Rev. Mr. Hayward, the Rev. Mr. Hutton, Capt. Hudson, Dr. Wasey, Dr. Stuart, Mr. Aspinwall, Mr. Mr. Serjt. Dickens and Mr. William Jones were appointed a committee accordingly.

This committee agreeably to their instructions attended, and satisfied with Mr. Green's terms, agreed to the draft of a lease, but before they proceeded further desired (that) what they had done might receive the sanction of a general board. This conduct of the committee was approved by the trustees and a general board appointed for the 27th of the same month of September, and held accordingly, at which the committee reported their approbation of Mr. Green's

terms and the draft of the lease was read, but some objections being then started and debate thereon arising in order if possible to satisfy every gentleman concerned the consideration thereof was suspended for six weeks, but contrary to this resolution of the board a few gentlemen thought fit immediately after (if it was not even done before) to take Lanesborough House. The trustees having received some information of this irregular procedure of those gentlemen, appointed and held a general board on the 9th of October following, when they being called upon to account for such behaviour excused themselves by declaring that that step was taken of them on behalf of gentlemen designing the house for their own use. Upon this treatment the trustees ordered that the agreement with Mr. Green should be carried into execution which was accordingly done and it is a satisfaction to the trustees that they are fixed in houses upon free land in an open and proper situation with all conveniences within, not liable to any inconvenience by the extreme heat of the summer or bad weather in the winter, and therefore altogether sufficient for any purposes of health where they can easily be supplied with all necessaries in a neighbourhood abounding with trustees who are constant and careful in their attendance, and to which place the poor patients can conveniently be conveyed, and for these reasons think themselves happy in the conclusion of an affair so material to them. From this plain account it is presumed it will appear the trustees have proceeded regularly and consistently and hope to convince all subscribers and benefactors to this infirmary that by their faithful application of whatsoever is or may be received by their care of the poor sick recommended to them by their diligence, integrity and disinterestedness and true zeal, nothing in their power shall be wanting to promote and extend so good and great a charity."

It was ordered that 1,500 copies of this account should be printed, none of which has come to light ; the above being transcribed from the minutes of the Westminster Infirmary.

But directly after the publication of the printed (St. George's) case the earlier letter of an anonymous Westminster subscriber was reprinted, bearing date December, 1733 ; and with it was joined the St. George's case dated 6th of February, 1733-4, together with some remarks upon the latter from the Westminster point of view. This leaflet, a copy of which is to be seen at the British Museum, affords an opportunity to the curious of arriving at an independent opinion upon the merits of each argument, even at this distance of time.

Remarks upon the foregoing Account.

"The minority who separated themselves from the infirmary at Westminster have at length acted openly, so far at least as to favour the public with what they would have thought an account of their proceedings. They never amounted to twenty in the divisions, and with *these only* is there any difference ; for though the order of a general board of governors passed, yet that board itself was determined by the testimony of those few. Nay, even among them as named in the account all are not equally concerned. Mr. Serjeant Dickens and Mr. Cheselden were seldom or never present till the two last general boards ; Dr. Teissier was absent during the whole debate ; he therefore, as well as Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Broxholme, and the other great names among their governors, can have no share in our present dispute, which I hope will justify the majority of managers in the old charity, even to the satisfying the majority in the new.

Critical
Remarks
by
West-
minster
Subscriber

Any reader of the foregoing account would suppose the two houses were both proposed at the same time, whereas the letter from Mr. Lane to Dr. Stuart, which contained no proposal, but time desired to consider whether he would let this house for an infirmary or not, was produced by the doctor on September 7th; but Mr. Green's houses were proposed first June 13th, and again August 29th before, as appears from the infirmary's printed paper, where dates are to be met with, which the minority avoid, questionless for good reason. These houses of Mr. Green's were viewed by Dr. Teissier, Dr. Stuart, Dr. Wasey, Mr. Sergt. Amyand, Capt. Hudson, Mr. Aspinwall, and others, as a committee, who reported on June 20th that upon examination of the said houses they were of opinion they were very convenient and suitable for the infirmary. They own a general board appointed a committee finally to agree with Mr. Green, and yet they resolved to act the direct contrary though outvoted (or as they call it, overruled) by more than seven to one. Now, these very gentlemen had engaged under their hands that the place of entertainment for the poor should be approved by the majority of trustees present, and that all who subscribed should be trustees of the charity, as anyone may see in the preamble to our subscription roll. *They were early, active, and useful members.* What then? Should sixteen or seventeen therefore dictate to 130? That would have been overruling indeed! *Some of them laid the foundation several years before.* This, I am told, may be contested, but their modesty shall not be put to the blush in proving it. Nay, it will not be denied, but they have in their way laid the foundation of a hospital too.

From zeal they pass to wealth. *Their subscriptions and those they have procured have been computed to amount at Lady Day last to above half of the whole.* Observe their

manner of proceeding as related by themselves. Instead of counting subscribers they compute subscriptions, and regard persons absent instead of present. Let any man of common sense judge whether this be consistent with the engagements they lay under. Why is Lady Day named? It would be too long to tell the whole story, but a few particulars must be mentioned; many more may be added at their demand. Our most generous benefactor was desirous of a charter, and so was much the greater part of the society. A committee was appointed to conduct that affair and a draft of one made and agreed to, wherein all subscribers were included agreeable to our original contract, the preamble above mentioned. About Lady Day many new subscribers came in. Whether this alarmed the gentlemen since separated from us, themselves best know; but a material change was made in the charter; when and how is the question. Only such and such were to be governors, which provoked the society so far that they chose a committee to petition against it. This is the main cause of their dislike of the Lady Day subscribers. For if the smallness of contributions be looked at they had as small among themselves.

We come now to the reason for Lanesborough House, though somewhat of the latest. I wish that place had ten times more conveniences than it has, and therefore shall not endeavour to decry them, only one must be singled out to show the peculiar force of those gentlemen's reasoning. *'Tis so near the governors might attend without inconveniency.* If this be meant of the old attenders, 'tis false in fact; if of the new governors of the hospital, it could be of no consequence to us in our debates; unless as the minority urged before their merits past, so here they insist upon their merits to come.

Their brethren at a subsequent general board refused

to concur, and they did the thing without them. This was twenty days after it had been resolved finally to agree with Mr. Green. No matter for that the minority had strong resolutions at least to contradict their own handwriting. Perhaps it will be said, Was not that subscribing during pleasure, and to be recalled at will? Yes, but surely it bound while they positively declared they did not recall it, that they were members of the society and would continue such, that they had no design to hurt it, that Lanesborough House was taken by gentlemen for private use, for their own use, or to that effect, of which there are above 100 living witnesses present at the board of September 27th; not but they still generously offered Lanesborough House, or part of it at least, to the board if they pleased to accept of it; the refusal whereof they call a great incivility, as I have been informed.

They proceed in their narrative, and after saying they resolved to carry on the charity at Lanesborough House, immediately follows: *Thereupon the physicians and surgeons acquainted the board, &c.* I appeal to any ingenuous reader if he does not hereby understand that the resignation was made at the general board already mentioned, whereas the direct contrary was there solemnly declared. 'Twas the night following September 28th at a weekly board, and not till then, the private use became public, those members of our society desired to be dismissed, a sure token they belonged to it before, and therefore ought to have been bound by their own subscriptions. I am informed this sudden change of declarations was occasioned by a gentleman more honourable than some about him, who flatly and fairly told them that he would leave them if they were not explicit. They designed us no hurt the night before, and yet they had then spoke to all they could get at to send their money to them in opposi-

tion to us—really at least, though not avowedly, for some have actually contributed there without so much as knowing there was any charity at all still subsisting at the old place, or any disagreement among the trustees. So full, so impartial, had been their information.

What follows, chiefly relating to Lanesborough House, I shall no further touch upon than to obviate any slur that may be thrown upon the infirmary. For I pray God who brings good out of evil to bless that hospital with the utmost prosperity, and I see no reason to doubt his blessing since a vast majority there are entirely innocent of any false steps at its foundation.

Laws of hospitals both English and foreign have been regarded in the infirmary. Was not Mr. Serjeant Amyand among us? Had he no skill in those matters before September 28th, or was he not communicative of that skill? I daresay it cannot be fancied that any at Lanesborough House are better acquainted with such affairs than some gentlemen who in the infancy of this charity proposed their schemes, were always opposed, even those good measures set forth in this notable account; and for truth of this I appeal to two of the three compilers of it.

Committees for doing business are of excellent use. Were they not often proposed and often rejected in the infirmary? When after much struggle one was appointed to look after the medicines, the chief of the minority divided against it. Serving without fee or reward is justly commendable, but nevertheless the minority voted a salary to our surgeon in ordinary and afterwards procured an advancement of that salary. If they are grown wiser than before I congratulate their improvement; if they are overruled (as they call it) I am sure I ought to congratulate the poor.

In a word I have nothing to say against their

constitution ; I wish it perfecter than some imagine, who doubts whether the £5 a year that qualifies for a governor be to be paid in specie or whether part of it admits of an equivalent. Suppose it conducted by the most consummate wisdom ; I am sure this is not to be imputed to the infirmary as a fault but the hospital as a virtue. I have given a specimen of the dealings of the minority. Let them disprove it if they can and call for more if they please, it stands ready. Many verbal abuses no doubt will be thrown upon these remarks as were before upon the letter above printed. But our books and our witnesses are to be consulted at any time ; and whosoever will give himself the trouble of applying to those authentic vouchers will meet with abundant proof of what is here asserted and will be thoroughly satisfied that I have not made it my business to expose a few but to defend a great many who I am persuaded the more this matter is examined will be found still the more to do justly and to love mercy."

Hospital
Movement
of
Eighteenth
Century

The great hospital movement of the 18th century, commencing in 1707 with the erection and endowment by Guy of three wards in St. Thomas's, was continued by the establishment of the first subscription hospital at Westminster in 1719.

The endowed and chartered foundations of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas demanded certain fees and securities from patients upon admission, thereby excluding many of the most necessitous and miserable poor, for whose reception they were undoubtedly primarily intended.

On the other hand the voluntary subscription hospitals required neither fees for admission nor security for burial, and provided their patients, not only with everything neces-

sary for the cure of their bodily infirmities, but, in conformity with the religious intentions of the promoters, with spiritual ministrations for the reformation of their lives and the salvation of their souls.

The endowment of the earlier charities and almshouses (hospitals) was often, if not generally, occasioned by way of penance, or in the belief that benefit temporal, or in the future, would result to the founder. In the case of those institutions erected and sustained for the isolation of lepers and other outcasts, the prime motive was one of protection for the public from the dangers of contact with the "miserable people lying in every street and offending every clean person passing by the way with their filthy and nasty savours" (see Gresham's petition, p. 4).

But the voluntary subscription hospitals, without either charter or endowment, were the issue of feelings of compassion and sympathy with the afflicted, spontaneously generated in the minds of the charitable by the realization that

Good is no good but if it be spend,
God giveth good for no other end.

In 1725, Guy's Hospital reared its head as a lasting monument to the munificence of its founder, directed into that channel by the pious persuasions of the illustrious Mead—then at the zenith of a fame unsurpassed, if not unequalled, by that of any later physician—and became the exemplar for future generations of hospital endowment by a private citizen.

Voluntary Subscription Hospitals compared with Chartered Endowed Foundations

Motives of Endowment in different Ages

Guy's Hospital, 1725

It must be remembered that in those days St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals were situated close together on the southern side of the river, and they, with St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, ministered to the wants of the City of London and the Borough of Southwark. Westminster had its

infirmary in Chapel Street, but it had become recognized that it was necessary, in consequence of the unsafe condition of the premises, and beneficial by increasing the scope of the charity, to secure a larger and more commodious building.

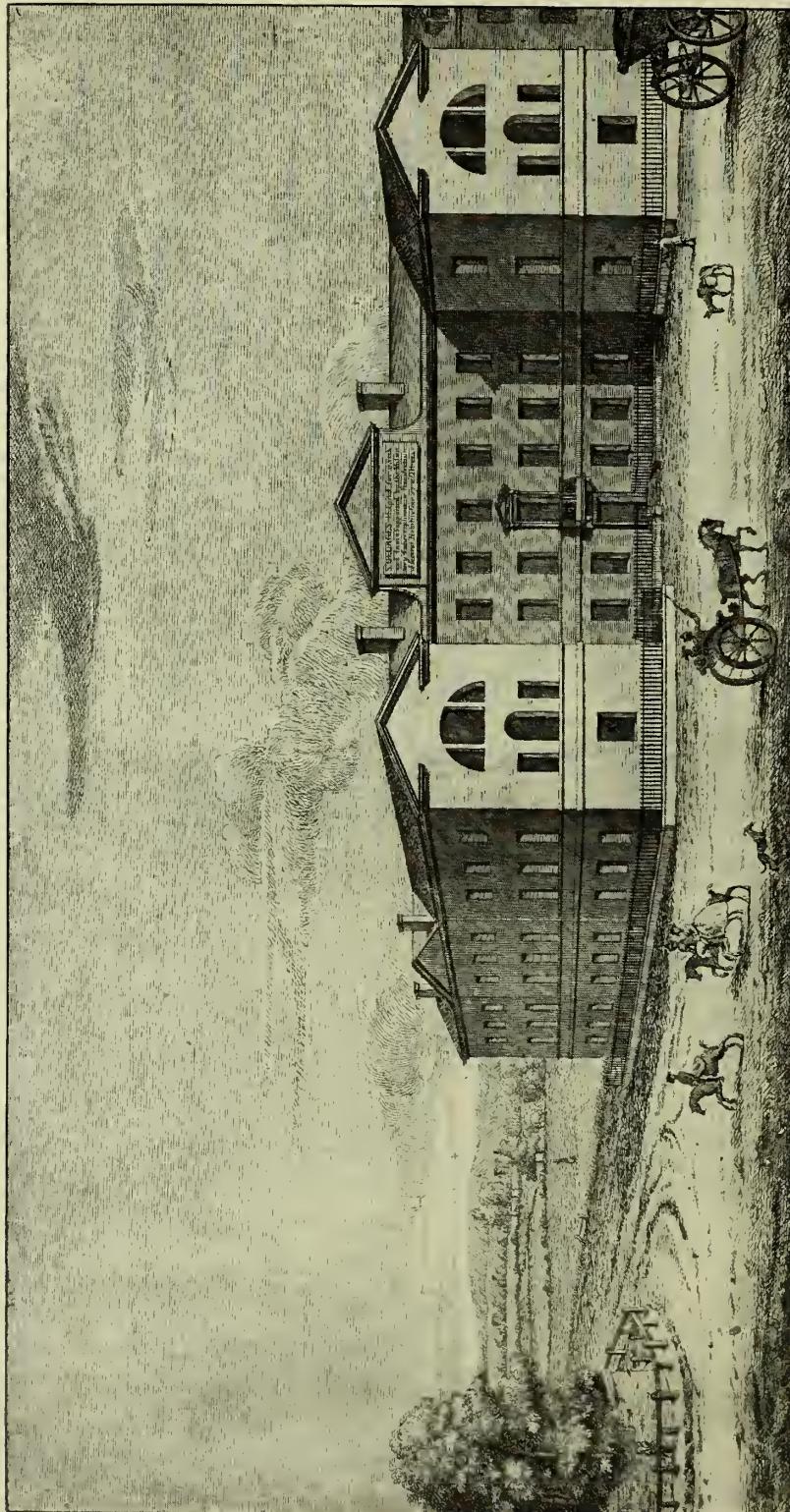
The
Increase of
London
Westwards

The march of the town and of the fashionable world ever westwards, as by an unexplained law the progress of civilization has hitherto travelled, was accompanied by extensive building operations on the western outskirts, stopping only when the boundaries of the parks were reached.

Advan-
tages of
Hyde Park
Corner as
a Hospital
Site

Wherever building operations are being conducted on a scale of any magnitude, there arises a need for medical and surgical aid, and it was the realization of these vicissitudes, stimulated by other and more personal motives, which demonstrated to the master minds of the seceders from the parent institution that the occasion was favourable for the foundation of a hospital which would be in a position to supply the requirements of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, then not long excised from that of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

The new suburb was the chosen home of rank, wealth and fashion; Grosvenor Square and its houses were the admiration of every stranger; subscribers and benefactors were living within easy distance of Hyde Park Corner, and the building itself was constantly in the eyes and minds of those who rode or lounged in the neighbouring parks.



ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL NEAR HIDE PARK.

Designed, drawn and engraved by ISAAC WARE about 1736.

Reproduced from a copy in the Collection of Mr. HERBERT E. FRIEND.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL.

IT is well that we should know what London life was like London in 1731 at the period at which our history opens, and the view of London in 1731, by a pseudonymous writer, Don Manoel Gonzales, in some respects supplies our want. His book was probably begun in the early years of the eighteenth century, later additions bringing it up to about 1745, and it consequently describes the London of Addison, Steele, and Pope, of Fielding, Smollett, and Hogarth.

It is noticeable, however, as Professor Morley points out, that it makes no mention of the world and ways of men of letters, and from the clearness of detail upon commercial matters it may be assumed that the author was a shrewd and successful merchant. He portrays with fidelity the outward appearance of the buildings, and enumerates in detail the everyday events in the life of the observant traveller, but his purview is limited to concrete facts, and he omits any comment upon the abstract problems of social economy, which are rather the perquisites of the philosopher and the moralist. Consequently, there is another and more serious aspect of London life at that time, which will have to be considered after the perusal of his story.

The four grand distinctions of the people, he says, are the nobility and gentry; the merchants and first-rate tradesmen; the lawyers and physicians; and the inferior tradesmen,

clerks, apprentices, coachmen, carmen, chairmen, watermen, porters, and servants. The daily life of each of these he proceeds to describe.

In the morning those who have places at Court attend the levées, and at noon the members of the House of Commons go to Westminster and usually return home to dinner. Those who have no particular business visit the chocolate-houses or the park, while many do not go out till they have dined. The ladies, who seldom rise before noon, take a turn to Covent Garden or Ludgate Hill, to tumble over the mercers' rich silks, or view some India or China trifle, some prohibited manufacture or foreign lace.

The business of the day being despatched before dinner (the fashionable hour for which was then about 3 p.m.), the afternoon and evening are devoted to pleasure, and between 4 and 5 o'clock all the world goes out in its gayest equipage, some to the park, others to the play, the opera, the assembly, the masquerade, or the music meeting.

Many of the merchants and superior tradesmen have beautifully furnished houses, with great gates and courtyards before them, as well as country seats, to which they resort at the latter end of the week. They keep their coaches, saddle-horses, and footmen, and when they have made their fortunes they retire to their estates and become country gentlemen. During the week they usually rise early, and having paid their devotions to Heaven, settle their business affairs, and then, clad in modest garb, go to the Custom House, Bank or Exchange ; and after dinner they do more business, until in the evening they meet at the tavern.

The lawyers and barristers are frequently the younger sons of good families. They work hard, but their fees are very large, and there is no profession in which a fortune can be made, or a peerage obtained, so soon as in the Law.

The next considerable profession is that of the physicians, who are not so numerous as the former, and seldom arrive at like honours ; indeed, it has been usefully observed that the English physicians seldom get their bread till they have no teeth to eat it. They are to be found at Batson's or Child's Coffee-House usually in the morning, and visit their patients in the afternoon. Those who are eminent among them will not get up at night, or at any and every call ; but the great grievance against them is the exorbitance of their fees, and the fact that if a physician has been called in, he has to be continued, though the patient is unable to bear the expense, for no apothecary can administer medicine to a patient who has already been prescribed for by a physician. They scorn any fee but gold, and the surgeons are still more unreasonable, which accounts for the employment of quacks, who are cheap and easily obtained.

The clerks and apprentices affect the manners of men of fashion ; they dress, gamble, frequent the play-houses, and intrigue with women, and are under no sort of restriction.

Then come the ordinary tradesmen, who have no principles of honest dealing ; the hawkers, who cry fish, fruit, herbs, roots, news, &c., about the town ; the hackney coachmen, porters, chairmen and watermen, who work hard but live well ; and the menial servants, who by reason of their dishonesty are the plague of almost every house.

Towards autumn the west end of the town is quite deserted, the Court, nobility, gentry, and lawyers having gone into the country ; and on Sundays and other holidays throughout the year the common people frequent the parks, the "quality" seldom being seen there on those days.

The number of houses in the whole of the town approximates 123,000, and calculating eight and a half inhabitants to each house, the population just exceeds 1,000,000 souls.

This computation includes the City proper, the seventeen parishes without the walls, the twenty-one out-parishes of Middlesex and Surrey, which make part of the town, and the city and liberties of Westminster. Of the foreigners included therein most are Frenchmen, who have come here to avoid persecution, and who number about 20,000; of the others, the majority is composed of Dutch and Germans.

The water supply of London is good, each house being supplied by pipes at a cost of less than 20s. per annum, and there are numerous springs, pumps, and conduits about the town.

Coaches and chairs ply for hire in the principal streets, and the former carry passengers to any part of the town within a mile and a half for 1s., the charge for a chair being one-third more; while stage coaches go to almost every village within four or five miles, the fare being 1s. or 6d. according to distance. But the most pleasant method of progress in summer is by river.

The penny post goes from one part of the town to another several times, and to the neighbouring villages once, daily; and for parcels, small packages, and messages, porters are to be found at the corners of the streets.

The principal streets are cleansed by scavengers in winter and the wider ones are watered by carts in summer. The foot passengers walk upon fine, smooth pavements, defended by posts from passing coaches and carriages, and though sometimes jostled by the throng, this seldom happens by design.

Each watch consists of a constable and watchman, who have a guard-room or watch-house, whence the watch is despatched every hour to patrol the beat and to see if all is safe from fire and thieves, giving the hour of the night and striking with their staves at the door of every house.

Persons arrested are carried before the constable at his watch-house, and are confined there till the morning, when they are taken before the magistrate.

The London inns are commodious, and the principal taverns handsome buildings, which are much utilized by people meeting on business or pleasure. Ale-houses are still more numerous, and are frequented by the lower classes for casual refreshment. Food is cheap and good, and at the eating-houses one can get a meal of butcher's meat, bread and table-beer, as much as he cares to eat, for sixpence.

At the coffee-houses they sell tea, coffee and chocolate, and in the larger ones wines. They have one large common room, with good fires in the winter, and there the middle-classes resort for breakfast, to read the news and talk politics, while at about 4 o'clock they are full of people going on to the taverns or the play.

Such were the characteristics of London life in 1731, as described by Don Manoel Gonzales. But whereas his was the passing glance of the contemporary traveller, there is a darker side to the picture, viewed through the telescope of the philosopher and the critic, to obtain which we turn to the pages of Lecky,¹ who has made the study of this period peculiarly his own.

In common with the other historians of the eighteenth century, he describes the commencement of the reign of George II as a time marked by a general spirit of apathy and indifference.

The enthusiasm, religious and patriotic, of the previous century had passed, and there has seldom been a time at which the religious tone of the country was at a lower ebb.

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 1878, vol. i, *passim*.

The governmental encouragement of literature had almost entirely ceased with the accession of the House of Hanover. Walpole, himself wholly destitute of literary tastes, helped only those authors who would employ their talents for party purposes, and a growing contempt for literature had produced a decadence of national spirit and taste. British art, painting, music, and architecture, had touched their nadir. The coarseness and immorality of fashionable manners and sentiment were reflected in the theatrical and literary productions of the time, and were accompanied by a predilection for brutal amusements (bull- and bear-baiting, cock-throwing, duck-hunting and cock-fighting), which, together with the publicity allowed to the very frequent executions conducted with details of the grossest barbarity, could not fail to render the spectators callous to cruelty and suffering.

Added to all this, the habit of gin-drinking, described as the master curse of English life, had already become a national vice, and was the cause of endless misery and crime.

"Small as is the place," says Lecky, "which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century." From 500,000 gallons of British spirits distilled in 1684, the quantity had risen to 5,000,000 in 1735, and to 11,000,000 gallons in 1751.

What wonder that the physicians ascribed to gin-drinking a new and terrible source of mortality to the poor, and that the civic authorities imputed the greater part of the poverty, the murders, and the robberies of London to the same cause.

Restrictive legislation was followed by violent rioting, and although apparently lessened, the amount consumed was really increased by secret trading. Fielding, writing in

1751,¹ declared that if gin-drinking were continued at its then present height for twenty years, there would by that time be very few of the common people left to drink it, and the London physicians stated that there were in or about the Metropolis 14,000 cases of illness directly attributable to gin and beyond the reach of medicine. So widespread indeed were its effects that the increase in the population of London was checked, and other and more stringent measures were considered necessary for the repression of the evil.

The satire of Hogarth, contrasting the miseries of Gin Lane with the prosperity and jollification of Beer Street, depicts better than words the difference between a beer- and a gin-drinking community, and enables us to discover the germ of latent truth in the somewhat surprising statement of Lecky, that "the impress of eighteenth century gin-drinking has been left upon the nation."

The London which Hogarth painted, Gay and Fielding described in words. "Hogarth's picture of the London streets," says Wheatley, "is singularly vivid: the kennels and the cobbled roads, the creaking signboards and the oil-lamps, and the attendant inconveniences are all brought before our eyes."² The badly-laid pavements, the rain falling from unguttered roofs, the splashing of passing vehicles, the custom of throwing filthy water from the houses into the streets, and the evil condition of the uncleaned roadway, made the art of walking the streets, as expounded by Gay in his *Trivia*, a specially difficult one.

The ill-lit and unguarded thoroughfares presented no small danger in days when it was the fashion to beat the watch, break windows and rob the passers-by. "One is

¹ *Enquiry into the Cause of the late Increase of Robbers.*

² Wheatley, *Hogarth's London*, 1909, p. 20.

forced to travel, even at noon," wrote Horace Walpole, "as if one were going to battle."¹ The inability of the police to procure the protection of the public from violence was common knowledge, the inadequacy of the provision made by the authorities being exemplified by the fact that in 1739 the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, employed four constables and thirty-nine watchmen for the whole district. (Maitland).

The watchmen and constables were utterly useless for the preservation of order, being "chosen out of those poor decrepit people who are from the want of their bodily strength rendered incapable of getting a livelihood by work."² Furthermore it was not until 1736 that the streets were properly lighted. Previous to that year certain contractors purchased from the City authorities the monopoly of placing a light before every tenth house until midnight on dark nights between Michaelmas and Lady Day, in return for which they were entitled to levy a rate of 6s. per annum on all those who paid poor-rates or had houses of over £10 a year, unless they hung out a candle or lantern before their doors. And even this measure was only introduced at the end of the reign of Charles II.³ But in 1736 an Act was passed which enabled the authorities to erect a sufficient number of glass lamps, which were lighted from sunset to sunrise, and to levy a rate for their maintenance; and it is computed that in a few years more than 15,000 lamps had been provided.⁴

¹ *Letter to Sir H. Mann*, March 23, 1752.

² Fielding, *Amelia*, bk. i, ch. 2.

³ Lecky, i, 486.

⁴ Maitland states that in 1416 the first order was issued for lighting the streets by hanging out lanterns at night for the convenience and safety of the citizens.—*History of London*, 1739, p. 104.

Under conditions so conducive to highway robbery and violence, repressive legislation vigorously enforced was undoubtedly necessary for the public safety. But when one reads that 160 offences were punishable with death ; that it was an ordinary occurrence for forty or fifty persons to be condemned at a single assize, and for ten or twelve to be hanged together ; that for petty treason women were publicly burnt alive ; that for high treason a man was to be hanged, cut down when still living and disembowelled, and to have his bowels burnt before him ; one recalls the execution of the 72,000 great and petty thieves by Henry VIII, and turns aside with relief from the further contemplation of a penal code disgraceful alike in its formula and its administration.

It is not surprising that in the midst of such ferocity as this there was an almost entire absence of philanthropic measures to alleviate the social state of the lower classes.

The scandalous conditions of English prisons had been pointed out by John Bellers and others, but nothing had been done except by private efforts—of which the Westminster Charitable Society is one of the few recorded examples—towards the relief of their unfortunate occupants. Owing, however, to the representations of Oglethorpe, a Parliamentary enquiry was instituted in 1729, which revealed details of such depravity and cruelty on the part of the governors and gaolers, that public indignation was aroused, and under new regulations the conditions were somewhat improved.

The hardships of sailors were described in terrible detail by Smollett in *Roderick Random*, from his actual experience when serving as surgeon's mate in the expedition against Cartagena ; and attention was called to various scenes of cruelty, misery and misfortune by the pencil of Hogarth and the pens of Fielding and Thomson.

The power of the press was growing. The introduction of the London penny post and the increase of newspapers, magazines and essays, encouraged the diffusion of general knowledge and the formation of new principles and ideas. Public opinion was educating itself, though unconsciously, to a later declaration of reaction and reform.

**Knights-
bridge**

The land upon which the hospital stands was probably included in *Kyngesbyrig*, which is mentioned as woodland in a charter of Edward the Confessor. It formed part of the ancient manor of Eia, which was bounded by the Tyburn on the east, the Westbourne on the west, the old Roman military road (Oxford Street) on the north, and the Thames on the south. This manor was confirmed to the Abbey of Westminster by William the Conqueror, and at some date subsequent to the Domesday Survey was divided into the three manors of Hyde, Eybury, and Neyte, of which Hyde and the upper part of Eybury were probably forest, while the rest of Eybury and Neyte were marshland.

Knightsbridge, as we find the name written in a charter of the twelfth century, was disafforested by Henry III, and is mentioned as a manor of the Abbey in the reign of his son, Edward I, but the change of form from Kingsbridge to Knightsbridge is unaccounted for, and attempts to define the origin of either must be purely conjectural. All that can be asserted is that from early times a stone bridge spanned the Westbourne stream at what is now Albert Gate, and that another over the Tyburn brook, which was known as Kingsbridge, and during the first half of the eighteenth century as Stonebridge, continued to give this latter name to the land between Half-Moon Street and Hyde Park.

The manors of Eybury and Neyte, consisting of the land south of Knightsbridge as far as the river Thames, passed

to the Crown at the Reformation, after which considerable portions of them were let as farms, and eventually became private property. But the strip on which the hospital stands appears to have been reserved to the Abbey, and to have remained in its possession until conveyed to a trustee for the contributors to St. George's Hospital in 1737.

The manor of Hyde, on the other hand, had long been a favourite royal hunting-ground. In the reign of Elizabeth forty acres of land in Knightsbridge, besides a plot of ground belonging to the lazarus-house there, were added to the park, and railed in so as to exclude all manner of horses and cattle except Her Majesty's deer. Upon the accession of Charles I the park was opened to the public, and became the resort of the fashionable world, but during the Commonwealth the land was sold by auction, being taken over again by the Crown at the Restoration, enclosed with palings, and restocked with deer.

Under the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns frequent attempts were made to check the growth of London by means of royal proclamations, some of which were confirmed by Act of Parliament. From one of these, issued in 1602, it appears that great inconveniences and mischiefs were foreseen to be likely to ensue from the increase of people by necessitating the employment of more officers for the execution of justice and authority, by raising the price of food, and finally "by great multitudes of people inhabiting in small rooms, where many of the very poor, and such as must live by begging or worse means, being heaped up together and in a sort smothered with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement, it must needs follow if any plague or other universal sickness come amongst them, it would presently spread through the whole city and confines and also into all parts of the realm" (Rymer, *Fœdera*, xvi, 448).

Growth of
London

The principal restrictions imposed by this and other such proclamations against enlarging the metropolis forbade the erection of any new buildings within three miles of London and Westminster, and the conversion of any house into more than one dwelling, and ordered that houses then empty which had been built during the past seven years, should not be let except for the reception of the poor of the parish, and that unfinished buildings on new foundations should be demolished. A later proclamation of 1630 directed that all new houses should have party walls and fronts of brick (wood had been used previously), and that all the windows were to be higher than their width.¹

The last of these proclamations was issued in 1674, after which year the progress of building was unimpeded. What is now club-land was then pasture, and it is related that when in the reign of Charles II Burlington House was erected, its noble owner, on being asked why he had placed it so far out of town, replied that he was determined to have no buildings beyond him.

But the westward progress had begun, and before long errant Fashion, seemingly recognizing the advantages of wider streets and open spaces, bestowed its patronage upon the squares, then rapidly appearing in the new quarter of the town. From the great houses on the river bank and in the Strand, Society found its way to Lincoln's Inn Fields and Bloomsbury, and in turn to Leicester Fields, Cavendish, Hanover and Grosvenor Squares.

¹ Eden, *State of the Poor*, 1797, i, 135. Building land was usually let on short tenure, causing the houses to be built so that they would not outlast the lease, unless it was stipulated otherwise. Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, 1735; and Muralt, *Letters on the English, &c.*, 1726, p. 76.

In the reign of James I, the road from Hyde Park Corner to Westminster ran from the lower end of Tyburn (Park) Lane in a circular, south-easterly direction to what is now Buckingham Gate, leaving the Crowfields, the Mulberry Garden, and Goring House (Buckingham Palace), on its right hand. These Crowfields were then used for pasture, that portion of them which lay eastwards of what is now Grosvenor Place being afterwards included in St. James's Park. As the road above mentioned turned out of the main road (Piccadilly) a pointed piece of ground lay upon its left hand, which was known as Stonebridge Close, taking its name from the bridge over the Tyburn brook.¹

Hyde Park
Corner in
1614

In 1675, when the roads were "turned," a new road was constructed from the gates of Hyde Park over Constitution Hill, meeting the old road at a point north of Goring House, whence it was continued southwards as before. The upper portion of the old road from Tyburn Lane was then closed.

The plan from which the following particulars are taken is in the Crace Collection (Maps, x, 18), in the British Museum. This plan is a copy of an original survey of the Lordship of Ebury, which was drawn by Henry Morgan in 1675, and is in the possession of the Duke of Westminster.

The Ebury
Estate in
1675

Therein it is stated that the property was then in the possession of Mrs. Mary Dammison (*sic*), this lady being probably identical with Mary, the daughter of Alexander Davies, upon whose death in 1665 the estate devolved upon his heiress, whose name the uncultured method of the copyist has corrupted into Dammison. In the following

¹ This in turn gave its name to Brook Street, and crossing the main (Piccadilly) road, ran over Tothill fields to the Thames.

year Mary Davies was married to Sir Thomas Grosvenor, and upon her death in 1730 the freehold of the manor of Ebury became his property. Hyde Park is seen in the plan to be enclosed with palings, within which was included the triangular strip of land between the present Apsley House and Stanhope Gate, which triangle then constituted Hyde Park Corner in fact. It is noticeable that in early records St. George's is almost always spoken of as the hospital *near* Hyde Park Corner.

Knights-
bridge in
1675

Beginning at the Westbourne stream were five houses with red-tiled roofs on the north side of the Knightsbridge Road, the most easterly of which was probably the chapel, though it is not distinguished as such in the plan. The main road was very wide, contained no houses on its southern side, and showed no enclosed strip of land (corresponding with St. George's Terrace), which was then probably roadside waste. The road widened after passing the gates of Hyde Park, from which, on the northern side, a continuous row of houses stretched to the corner of Tyburn Lane; but no house stood upon the corner itself. Facing them four houses are shown on the southern side of the road.

The Crowfields were still pasture land, and a note upon the plan tells that the Five Fields which lay to the south of them were known as the Nether Hill Fields. Bloody Bridge does not appear on the plan; probably a plank alone then marked its future site.

1681

Grosvenor
Place

About 1681 Charles II constructed a private coach-road from Whitehall to Hampton Court, which cut across the lower end of what is now Grosvenor Place, then only a footpath. At this point a turnpike gate was erected, another new road following the track of the footpath northwards to Hyde Park was made, and as soon as this latter was opened to the public, the old road to Westminster was closed.

This new private coach-road known as the King's Road was continued along what is now the north side of Eaton Square, passed over the Five Fields, and crossing the Westbourne stream at Bloody Bridge ran on to Chelsea.

The King's
Road to
Chelsea

In former times it was necessary to obtain permission to use any of the King's private roads, copper tickets (examples of which may still be found), being issued for that purpose; but in 1830 the King's Road (Chelsea), by which name its western continuation is still known, was thrown open to the public.

Upon this road at Bloody Bridge, Edward, Earl of Oxford, and his Countess, were robbed by footpads in 1738, and it is quite possible that the Earl, who was a vice-president of the hospital and the trustee in whose name the property was purchased from the Dean and Chapter in 1737, may have been on his way from one of the board meetings at which he not infrequently presided.

Bloody
Bridge

A map of the Grosvenor estate in 1723, a portion of which is reproduced here, shows Lanesborough House, which had been built about four years previously, standing alone at the corner of the new road to Westminster (now Grosvenor Place). This and the rows of houses westward, between it and the Westbourne stream, were erected on a strip of land on the southern side of the road, which was probably originally waste of the manor. This strip of land, together with a similar strip on the northern side eastward of the stream (on which stood several houses, among which can be distinguished the old chapel), were the only pieces of ground (except that marked as belonging to Mr. Lownds, which in the survey of 1675 is said to form part of the manor (*sic*) of St. James), which were not included in the Grosvenor estate. A house, probably the Ranger's lodge, is figured as adjoining the gates of Hyde Park on the east,

The Gros-
venor
Estate in
1723

Plate I

and a row of houses stretched as far as Tyburn Lane ; but the houses on the opposite side, which faced them on the plan of 1675, had disappeared. Two houses, and two only, stood at the bottom end of Grosvenor Place, on its western side, one of which was the turnpike lodge. The land on the further side of the Westbourne stream was known as Chelsea Common.

London in
1733

From a map of London, published in 1733,¹ it appears that there were then no houses to the north of Oxford Street, except in the new quarter of Cavendish Square. On the western side of the town Grosvenor Square and its purlieus almost reached Hyde Park, and there were a few houses clustered about Hyde Park Corner ; but most of the space between Grosvenor Square and Portugal Street, as the western end of Piccadilly was then called, was open ground upon which May Fair continued to be celebrated for many years subsequently.

The districts now known as Belgravia, Chelsea and Kensington, were then open fields dotted with tiny villages, and until Westminster Bridge was built in 1736 London Bridge was the only structure across the Thames. But upon the stretch of land bounded by the Exeter (Knightsbridge) Road on the north ; by the new road to Westminster (Grosvenor Place) on the east ; by the King's Road over Bloody Bridge on the south ; and by the Westbourne stream on the west, our hospital and our special interest are located.

There were still no houses in Grosvenor Place except the two small dwellings at its lower end, but the grounds of Buckingham (Goring) House had encroached upon St. James's Park, and it was probably then that the land lying

¹ Seymour, *Survey of London*, 1734-5.



PLATE I.

northward of it became known as Upper St. James's Park, preparing the way for its later appellation, the Green Park.

An almost continuous row of houses stretched from Lanesborough House to the Westbourne stream, but on the northern side of the Knightsbridge Road the park wall stood where the iron railings do to-day as far as the old Conduit House, close to which were the village stocks. Inside this wall ran the southern road, which had not long been constructed by George II as a short cut to Kensington Palace, and north of this was the road now known as Rotten Row (? *Route du Roi*), which was made by William III.

In 1730 the Serpentine had been formed by widening the bed of the Westbourne stream, which, emerging southwards, flowed under a bridge on the above-mentioned southern road inside the park, and then under the old Knight's Bridge which spanned the main road at Albert Gate; and forming the western boundary of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, crossed the King's Road at Bloody Bridge, and entered the Thames at Chelsea.

The principal entrance to the park was on much the same ground as it is to-day, while just eastwards were some small cottages and the old inn known as the Hercules' Pillars, near which stood an obelisk at the side of the road, which was afterwards the standard for measurement of distances.

Turnpike
Gates and
their Re-
moval

At this date the western gates of London were at the end of Clarges Street, to which spot they had been moved from Berkeley Street in 1725, in order to keep pace with the expansion of the town, and there they remained until in 1761 they were again moved westwards to Hyde Park. Great difference of opinion exists among topographers about the dates of the early removal of these gates. Some say

that they were moved from the end of Berkeley Street in 1721 (or 1725) to Clarges Street, others to Hyde Park. Rocque's map shows the gate in the latter position in 1746. On the other hand, a note in the Crace Collection (Misc., 6119) distinctly states that they were moved from Clarges Street in 1761, and this is corroborated by a plan of the roads under the Kensington and Hyde Park Trust, drawn by Fourdrinier in the latter year. (Crace Maps, x, 12, 13.) The plan is stated to be based upon the description of the roads in the two Acts of Parliament, and in the explanation appended, which is part of the print, the turnpike is stated to be then existent at Clarges Street. The plan shows that all the roads westwards of Clarges Street were at that date under the jurisdiction of the trust, and a similar plan dated 1780 (upon the same sheet) shows that between these two dates the road westward of Clarges Street had become a public road, and that the turnpike was then at Hyde Park.¹

The oldest and most interesting building in Knightsbridge was undoubtedly the hospital or lazarus-house to which Trinity Chapel was attached. The best account of these is to be found in *The Memorials of the Hamlet of Knightsbridge*, by Davis, published in 1859, but their origin is somewhat obscure. The earliest mention which he had met with was a grant of James I, dated September 6, 1605,² whereby that monarch granted a sum of £35 to defray the charge of

Knights-
bridge
Lazar-
house

¹ Any moot point in London topography deserves consideration. Is it a possible explanation that while the gates stood at Clarges Street till 1761 there was another gate opposite Tyburn Lane to catch the traffic on the old road from Westminster?

² Add. MS., 5755, B. Mus. But Colonel Prideaux says that the lazarus-house at Knyghtbrigge (*sic*) is mentioned in a will of 1486-7. *London Top. Soc. Record*, iii, 23.

bringing water to the hospital in leaden pipes from a spring in the park at a distance of 140 paces. This grant was made in consideration of the poverty of the institution and its inmates, inasmuch as the sick, lame and impotent people "in our hospital of Knightbridge are greatly distressed for want of wholesome water both for the dressing of their meat and for making condiment potions for their sores."

Citing Lysons, Davis says that there is among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster a statement of the condition of the hospital in 1595 drawn up by John Glassington, a surgeon, then governor of the house, whose family had rented the hospital for many years from the Dean and Chapter by payment of 4s. per annum. Glassington states that the hospital has neither lands nor endowment, but that there had formerly been a piece of land which had been since enclosed in the park to the great detriment of the charity: that when he became governor the building was ready to fall: that he had expended £100 upon it: that there were usually thirty-six or thirty-seven persons in the hospital who were supported by voluntary contributions: and that the charge of the previous year in provisions alone and exclusive of candles, linen, woollen, salves, medicines, burials, &c., had been £161 19s. 4d. He adds a list of fifty-five persons whom he had cured, some of whom had been discharged as incurable from other hospitals, and says that the patients attended prayers every morning and evening, and that on Sundays there was morning and evening service for the neighbours; which services doubtless were conducted in the adjoining chapel. Those of the inmates who were able were obliged to work, and they dined everyday on "warm meat and porrege," every man having his own dish, platter and tankard "to kepe the broken from the whole." In 1654 another John Glassington, surgeon, probably the

son or grandson of the former governor, petitioned to be admitted governor, and five years later he is found to be filling that post.

Some entries in the parish accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster,¹ show that men, women and children were alike admitted to the hospital, and others in the registers of the chapel give particulars of certain persons who were discharged as cured, together with the names of the places they were returning to. These were mostly at a distance, and Davis suggests that they had probably begged their way up from the country, had lived while in the hospital on the contributions of the charitable, and when cured had to beg their way home again. Tradition tells that in the year of the Great Plague (1666) the hospital was given over to the reception of its victims, and that the dead were buried on the neighbouring green.

There is some reason to suppose that this was one of four lazarus-houses which were created in consequence of a royal proclamation of the twentieth year of Edward III ordering that, "inasmuch as they injure people by contact with their polluted breath, lepers are to quit the city within fifteen days and betake themselves to places in the country solitary and notably distant from the city and suburbs."² Other similar establishments, founded at various times, were suppressed by Henry VIII, but these four, together with an ancient and royal foundation at Ilford, were apparently the only houses remaining in 1720 when Strype published his edition of Stow's *Survey*, and Newcourt his *Repertorium*.³

¹ Quoted in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times*, 1737.

² Mary Rothera Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, 1907.

³ Strype's Edition of Stow's *Survey*, 1720, App., pp. 20, 21.

Of the house at Mile End nothing but the bare fact of its existence is recorded, and of that of Great Ilford in Essex, the foundation of King Stephen, all that appears is that it was standing, with a chapel attached to it, in 1720. Davis could find no mention of the Knightsbridge house later than that year, but in a lease dated 1737, being a renewal of an earlier one of 1723, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster granted to John Clarke "a messuage called the Fox Ale-house, &c., near the bridge, and abutting east towards an almshouse called Lazercot," (*sic*) for a term of forty years, &c.

The suggestion conveyed is that at some date before 1737 (? 1723), the hospital at Knightsbridge had ceased to receive the sick and lame, and had become an almshouse for the aged and infirm. Whether or no this was occasioned by the establishment of the neighbouring hospital near Hyde Park Corner remains in doubt, but such an explanation is more than possible.

With the decline of leprosy in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the leper hospitals were utilized for the treatment of other forms of disease, and when the increasing prevalence of syphilis led to the general belief in its infectivity, the two lazarus-houses at Kingsland and Kent Street, Southwark, became lock-hospitals, and were attached to St. Bartholomew's. The generality of this belief is best exemplified by quoting the sixth article in the impeachment of Cardinal Wolsey :—

" And also whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm ; the same lord cardinal, knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, came daily to your grace sounding in your ears and blowing upon your most noble

grace with his perilous and infective breath to the marvellous danger of your highness," &c.¹

Curiously enough the early history of Knightsbridge Chapel is unrecorded, though since it was no uncommon circumstance to find a chapel included in the charter of foundation of a leper hospital, it is probable that both chapel and lazarus-house sprang from a common origin. Rebuilt in 1629, it was then consecrated to the use of the poor of the hospital, who "having no maintenance but what they received of alms, and not being able to maintain a curate, repair the chapel, or relieve themselves," it was arranged that certain pews and seats should be let to the public in order to procure funds for these purposes. Until Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, Knightsbridge Chapel was a constant witness of many of those irregular marriages which were thenceforward rendered illegal, though Davis was loth to admit that proceedings contrary to the canon law could have been permitted in a place of worship controlled by successive Deans of Westminster.

Knights-
bridge
Chapel

The Lock Hospital in Grosvenor Place was built in 1746, probably in consequence of the refusal of the governors of the voluntary hospitals to receive patients affected with syphilis. An interesting document upon this subject, entitled, "The Reasons of one member of the Committee of Trustees of the Westminster Infirmary for vetoing the admission of venereal patients, in a letter to a lady"(!) dated December, 1738, gives the following information.

The Lock
Hospital

The books of that infirmary, searched from 1719, gave only one single instance of the admission of a venereal patient the rules being that no such patient was to be admitted and, if accidentally admitted, such patient was to be discharged

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine.*

upon discovery. Want of room was urged as an additional argument ; the wards suggested for the use of venereal cases being intended for accidents, cases of exigence, and for those who after admission were seized with smallpox or itch, or by some ill-smell might be offensive in the wards. The admission of venereals without payment was declared to be contrary, not only to the original intentions of the society, but to all example, for at St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Guy's Hospitals extra fees were required from foul patients, while at the hospital near Hyde Park Corner, which was supported by voluntary contributions and subscriptions, during pleasure, like the Infirmary (at Westminster), the governors had made a stringent order prohibiting the admission of all venereal cases.¹

The Lock Hospital stood in Grosvenor Place at the lower corner of Chapel Street, which took its name from the chapel attached to the hospital, built in 1764 in order to increase the income by means of the fees accruing in the form of pew-rents. An asylum for penitent females was added in 1787. The hospital was a brick building, and was pulled down in 1846, and removed to Harrow Road.

Duke's Hospital

At the bottom of Grosvenor Place stood, for at least a century, a small hospital for disabled soldiers, which is mentioned at various dates as the Duke's and the Guard's Hospital. The date of its erection is unrecorded, and the particular duke from whom it derived its foundation or patronage is consequently uncertain. It does not appear in the plan of 1723, but if it was originated by the Duke of York (afterwards James II) it must have been in existence before 1685, though possibly at that time standing upon some other site. All that is known is that the poet

¹ British Museum, Press Mark 777, l, i (90).

Armstrong was appointed its physician in 1746, and that about a century later it was demolished.

These were the three hospitals which at one time or another were associated with Knightsbridge, which name according to Besant was applied in 1725, not only to the street fronting Hyde Park, but also to the fields as far south as the King's Road (Eaton Square).¹

In 1718 the Dean and Chapter of Westminster let to John Clarke, a baker of the parish of St. James, a large plot of land extending from the turning of the corner of the new road leading from Westminster to Hyde Park towards the town of Knightsbridge, together with four houses, then newly erected and erecting thereupon. This lease was for forty years from Michaelmas then last past (1718), Clarke paying 10s. yearly by way of rent, together with all assessments, taxes, and charges upon the premises, which he undertook to repair, maintain, and uphold, and at the end of the term deliver to the Dean and Chapter, who reserved to themselves the right to break up the land to repair the pipes conveying water from Hyde Park to the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster.²

Site of the Hospital

One portion of this land was sublet by Clarke to John Mallden, a joiner of Knightsbridge, who erected a brick house upon it, which in March 1718-9 he insured against fire for the sum of £250. This was the more easterly of the two adjoining houses spoken of subsequently.³

Another similar portion Clarke sublet to a certain George Curtis, of St. Martin-in-the-fields, who undertook to build

¹ Besant: *The Fascination of London, Mayfair, &c.*, p. 56.

² Among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

³ Among the muniments of St. George's Hospital.

upon it a brick dwelling-house, which was in due course insured for a similar sum. In this lease occur certain covenants, one of which restrained the tenant from selling beer, ale, or other liquors upon the premises, and another reserved to the Dean and Chapter the power of repairing the water pipes above mentioned.¹ This was the more westerly of the two adjoining houses, and since the covenant was not included in the sublease of either of the other two plots of land granted by Clarke, the pipes obviously lay under the south-western corner of the property. It appears that in 1620 the Dean and Chapter had obtained permission to carry water arising from some springs in Hyde Park to Westminster Abbey. Consequently, when, about forty years later, the Receiving Conduit, called the Standard, or otherwise the St. James's Conduit, was erected to collect the water from other springs and convey it to St. James's Palace and Whitehall, the Abbey pipe remained independent of the later system, and did not pass through the Conduit House.²

The old building, covered with ivy, obscuring it from the sight of the heedless lounger and the busy passer-by, still remains to conjure up in the mind of the historian the incidents connected with its youth. Could it but speak, what tales would it not tell of the gallants of the Court of the second Charles; of Dutch William passing along the Route du Roi (Rotten Row) to Kensington Palace, which he had then recently built; of the sister queens, Mary and Anne, both of whom died in that palace; and then of the illustrious Caroline and her maids of honour? We should

¹ Among the muniments of St. George's Hospital.

² This is made clear by a plan in the Crace Collection, dated 1718 (Maps, xii, 24).

know something of the nobleman who built and gave his name to Lanesborough House, hear the echoes of the quarrel at Westminster, and then watch in fancy, as still we may, the coming and going to St. George's Hospital of Sloane, Mead, Cheselden, Douglas, Hawkins, Hunter, Baillie, Jenner, Young, Brodie, and other masters of medicine, until reaching the grey matter of living memory the dream was broken and we awakened to the realization of the present.

By an indenture of lease bearing date April 20, 1719,¹ in consideration of a sum of £300 paid to him by James Viscount Lanesborough, Clarke granted and let a parcel of ground and the building standing thereupon to his lordship, his executors, administrators and assigns, from Michaelmas then last past (1718), for 39½ years, at the yearly rent of a peppercorn, if demanded. This piece of ground is described as extending from the new road between Westminster and Hyde Park towards the town of Knightsbridge as far as the first of the new tenements then being erected by Mr. Mallden.

Lanes-
borough
House

Upon this ground Lord Lanesborough built a large capital messuage or mansion-house, with stables and other out-houses, the former of which he immediately insured against fire for the sum of £1,500, and the latter for £75.² This mansion became known as Lanesborough House, and although nothing more than the outline ground-plan, reproduced here, has been discovered, by means of a schedule attached to a later lease of the property it is possible to provide a detailed description of the accommodation afforded, and many other particulars. Under ordinary circumstances such matter would not call for inclusion in

¹ Cited in an indenture dated June 28, 1735, among the muniments of St. George's Hospital.

² In the Westminster Fire Office.

an historical narrative, but since Lanesborough House, unaltered in any respect, was the building in which our hospital was originally established, in the absence of better material every detail is of value.

Outside the limits of the town whose most westerly boundary was marked by the turnpike gate then standing at the Piccadilly end of Berkeley Street, it was his lordship's country house as distinct from his town residence in Golden Square. Upon a pediment on the front of the building he is said to have inscribed the doggerel couplet :

It is my delight to be
Both in the town and country,

but it seems probable that the pediment which bore these words was the smaller one over the central first-floor window and not that on the roof of the building, on which latter the name of the hospital and the fact that it was supported by voluntary subscriptions was afterwards announced to passers-by.

The neighbourhood has long possessed a reputation for salubrity. In 1693, John Archer, one of the physicians-in-ordinary to Charles II, published a *Treatise of Consumptions*, the preface of which he addresses "from my house in Knightsbridge, a little mile from Charing Cross." At the conclusion he wishes his readers all health, although the book itself appears to be a useful advertisement of the author's "Pile Drops" at five shillings, and "Fistula Drops" at ten shillings a glass vial. He further announces that they may send to him at his chamber against the Mews, Charing Cross, where he is certainly to be found from twelve to four, and at other times at his house at Knightsbridge, "where is good air for cure of consumptions, melancholy and other infirmities." The place-names Constitution Hill and Montpelier Square perpetuate the tradition, and it is a coincidence that Knightsbridge appears to have been the

favourite settlement of the purveyors of asses' milk, then as now reputed by some to be an adjuvant in the treatment of phthisis.

In a curious work entitled, "Low Life, or a critical account of what is transacted by people in the twenty-four hours between Saturday night and Monday morning," &c., published anonymously in 1752, we learn that from twelve to one a.m. "the keepers of she-asses about Brompton, Knightsbridge, &c., are getting ready to run with their cattle all over the town to be milked for the benefit of sick and infirm persons," &c. ; and in 1795 the notorious Mrs. Cornelius, who had been in hiding from her creditors, made her reappearance in public as a retailer of asses'-milk at Knightsbridge.

Lord Lanesborough went into residence about Christmas, 1719, at which date the house was rated in the parish books at £60 per annum, and in it he probably resided for a part of each year until his death there in 1724. Of his personal history little is known. Until recently he had been identified with the person alluded to by Pope in his "Epistle to Lord Cobham" :

Lord
Lanes-
borough

Old politicians chew on wisdom past,
And totter on in business to the last :
As weak, as earnest, and as gravely out
As sober Lanes'b'row dancing in the gout.

It was also said¹ that he was the devotee of dancing as a means of procuring health, counteracting sorrow, and warding off attacks of that disease, who advised that recreation to Queen Anne on the death of her consort Prince George of Denmark.

But recently the critics have been busy with this little bit of romance. It is argued by Colonel Prideaux that because Pope's "Epistle" was not published until nine years after his

¹ Pennant.

lordship's death, when it would have lost its point, it is more probable that the dancing nobleman referred to was Brinsley Butler, who in 1728, then being Baron Newtown Butler, was created a viscount, and for some obscure reason (being so far as is known unconnected by any ties of blood with the Lane family), chose as his title Viscount Lanesborough. His position at Court, as Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, is adduced as an additional reason why he should have been Queen Anne's adviser. This explanation is very likely correct, though it must be remembered that Warburton says that the completion of the "Moral Essays" had been interrupted, postponed and laid aside.

On the other point of argument, Jesse's statement that "on the site of St. George's Hospital stood the country house of Theophilus, first Lord Lanesborough, celebrated by Pope," is palpably wrong, since such a person never existed.¹

The suggested association of a member of the Butler family with Lanesborough House has had the effect of misleading even the most competent authorities, but the evidence adduced in these pages is conclusive that its builder and occupant was James Lane, second and last Viscount Lanesborough of the first creation.

One of the few incidents in his career which can be authenticated is the order he gave that the iron balcony on the cupola of St. Paul's should be gilded at his own expense, and this appears to have been completed a few days before his death.² But it is remarkable that so little is recorded concerning the Lane family, which is the author's excuse for

¹ Theophilus Butler was created Lord Newton Butler in 1715, and dying in March, 1723-4, was succeeded by his brother Brinsley, who in 1728 was created Viscount Lanesborough, the first of the second creation.

² *Read's Weekly Journal*, Saturday, August 8, 1724: and see *British Journal*, of same date.

PEDIGREE OF LANE,
VISCOUNT LANESBOROUGH.

1st, Mabel, da. and h. of Gerald Fitzgerald of Clonbolg.
Sir Richard Lane, = of Tuliske, Co. Roscommon.
Created Bart. 1660-1.
Ob. 5 Oct., 1668.

1st, Dorcas, da. of Sir Anthony Brabazon (Meath).
Married 1644.
Ob. 1671.

Sir George Lane, = Created Visct. Lanesborough, 1676, Secretary for War, &c.
Ob. 11 Dec., 1683.
Bur. Lanesborough,
Co. Longford.

2ndly, Frances, da. of Richard, 5th E. Dorset,
and widow of Denny Muschamp.
Married 1673,
Will, P.C.C. 1719-21.
1st, Ulrick Bourke, = Frances,
Created Visct. Galway, 1687.
Ob. s.p.s. 12 July, 1691,
aged 21.

2ndly, Henry Fox (as his 2nd wife).
Married 1691.
Ob. Dec., 1713.

GEORGE FOX-LANE = Harriet, da. and h. of Robert, Lord Bingley, of Branham.
Succeeded to Lanesborough estates on death of John Bell-Lane, 1750, and took name and Arms of Lane by Act of Parl.
Created Baron Bingley, 1762.
Ob. 27 Feb., 1773, s.p.s., aged 76.

JAMES FOX,
of E. Horsley,
Co. Surrey.
Ob. 30 Oct., 1753, s.p.
SACKVILLE FOX = Ann Holloway.
Ob. 1 Dec., 1760.
d. of Lord Rivers.

JAMES, 2nd VISCT. LANESBOROUGH = MARY, da. of Sir Chas. Compton, Kt.
Succeeded 1683.
Ob. 2 Aug., 1724, aged 74, s.p., at Lanesboro' House, Hyde Park Corner.
Bur. 11 Aug., 1724, St. James's, Piccadilly.
Will, P.C.C., 1722-4.

Mary,
only child,
Ob. 12 July, 1755.
Bur. Westm. Abbey.

Frances,
Ob. Dec., 1713.

From whom descend the Lane-Fox family of Bramham, Co. York, and Dromohaire, Co. Leitrim.

JOHN BELL-LANE = — Wight.

Succeeded to estates of his grand-uncle, Lord Lanesborough, 1724, and took name and arms of Lane. Ob. s.p. 21 Aug., 1750.
Will, P.C.C. 1750-4.

including in pedigree form such additional information as he has recovered.

His lordship died on the afternoon of Sunday, August 2, 1724, at his house near Hyde Park Corner, having been in an unconscious condition for several days previously. He left no issue, and with him the title became extinct. From the statements in the public press it was evidently the general opinion that the estates would devolve upon his half-sister's child, George Fox, of St. James's Street, but instead he devised them to his nearest male heir, John Bell, the grandson of his sister by the whole blood.

In his will, dated about two years before his death, Lord Lanesborough mentions his leasehold house in Golden Square, which he himself had built, and which he devised to his widow. His estates at Lanesborough, whence he derived his title, and other places in the Co. Longford, he left in trust to the use of his grand-nephew, John Bell, and his heirs male; in default, to his nephews George, James, and Sackville Fox, in order, and their heirs male, conditionally that each who became so possessed should constantly use the name of Lane for his surname and bear the testator's arms in chief. Certain other estates in Ireland he left to the use of his widow for life, charging them with a yearly allowance for the education of John Bell, his grand-nephew, then a minor.

His house, buildings, garden, and grounds near Knightsbridge and near to the corner of St. James's Park and Hyde Park, he left in trust to the use of his wife for life, and after her decease to such person as should be in possession of the estates in Co. Longford, and he directed that the lease of the said house in Knightsbridge should be from time to time renewed.

He desired to be buried on the left hand without the east

door of Westminster Abbey, and a pillar to be erected of white Portland stone, 6 ft. high, with a square over the chapiter to support his arms and his wife's thereon impaled, with an account on the outermost side of the square showing who they were. If that place could not be obtained, then a pillar was to be erected in like manner outside St. James's Parish Church steeple.¹ Finally he left £300 in trust for Dr. Busby's charity, for three poor boys to be taught in Dr. Busby's Library, to read, write, cast accounts, and the compass, to qualify them for navigation.

Among his trustees was the Right Rev. George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been his tutor at Christ Church, Oxford.

Upon his lordship's death, his widow, to whom both houses were left for her life, appears to have preferred town to country, for in the year following Lanesborough House was occupied by Lady Elliott,² and from the rate books of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, we learn that in 1726 the tenant was the Duke of Leeds, who resided there until Christmas, 1728, after which date the premises remained empty until taken over by the trustees of the new society in September, 1733.

Early in that month Dr. Alexander Stuart, who appears to have been the leader of the movement which ended in the secession from the Westminster Infirmary, had opened a correspondence with Mr. John Bell Lane, acting for Lady

The Seces-
sion

¹ No such pillar or inscription is to be found at St. James's Church, and the only entries in the registers which have come to light are those recording the burials of himself and his widow.

² This was probably the widow of Sir Gilbert Elliott, who died in 1718. Knightsbridge seems to have been a favourite place of residence with this family, for in 1778 Lady Elliott, widow of the third Sir Gilbert, came to Knightsbridge for fresh air, and found it "as quiet as Teviotdale."

Lanesborough, on whose death he was in remainder to the property, with a view to securing a lease of Lanesborough House for use as a hospital.

The advantages of its situation were manifold. Knightsbridge had long been famous for the purity of its air, which in the opinion of the seceding physicians would be more effectual than physic in the case of many distempers, especially such as mostly affect the poor living in close and confined habitations. Its distance from town would prevent its being offensive to anyone, though it was near enough for the supply of all the necessaries required and for the attendance of the governors without inconvenience. In addition, the building was large and strong, and many of the rooms were so contrived as if they had been built for the purposes to which they were now to be applied.

Finding that a majority of the board at Westminster was in favour of taking the Castle Lane premises in preference to Lanesborough House, the minority proceeded to accept Mr. Lane's offer, and an agreement was entered into between Mary, Viscountess Dowager of Lanesborough, of the first part; John Bell Lane, of the Inner Temple, of the second part; Alexander Stuart, of the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, M.D., William Wasey, of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, M.D., George Lewis Teissier, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, M.D., Ambrose Dickens and Claudius Amyand, Esqrs., Serjeant Surgeons to His Majesty, and Thomas Smith, of the parish of St. Martin, gent., of the third part. This indenture of lease was dated September 20, 1733, and by it Lady Lanesborough and Mr. Lane granted to Drs. Stuart, Wasey, and others, the land and buildings situate at or near the corner of St. James's and Hyde Parks for twenty-four years from Michaelmas ensuing at a yearly rent of £60. A memorandum, mutually

agreed to by the several parties to the lease, is appended, to the effect that if Mr. Lane should survive Lady Lanesborough and a new lease for a further eleven years should be granted to him by Mr. John Clarke, Mr. Lane should, at the request of the trustees, grant to them a new lease for that term. Attached to the lease is a schedule which, in combination with other sources of information, affords us a detailed description of the mansion as it was when the first steps had been taken towards its conversion into a hospital.

Separating the house from the high road on the north front was a brick wall, inside which were posts and rails in front of the building, and along the side of the road ran a ditch into which the house-drain entered. In the front of the house were the great gates, and at the side a smaller one.

The house was built of red brick, and the central block appears to have been almost square in shape (43 ft. by 41 ft), with prolongations east and west forming out-buildings. There were three floors and a basement, with an area in the front protected by a dwarf wall, coped with stone, upon which were iron railings. Each floor had seven windows in the front, the central one on the middle floor being provided with a balcony which protruded over the entrance door below. Above this window was a small pediment, upon which, rather than upon that on the roof of the building, it is probable that the couplet was inscribed which told that this was his lordship's country residence.

The front entrance to the house was by a narrow central doorway, approached by three steps from the ground, and over it were two lamps. The coach-house and stables stood at the west end of the mansion, and contained accommodation for five horses, while at the east end were other offices, which were subsequently utilized as the apothecary's shop. At the back of the house was a garden enclosed by a brick

wall, beyond which was a drying-ground, provided with posts for clothes-lines, around which was a fence.

Entering by the narrow central doorway, the visitor found himself in the hall flagged with stone, on one side of which was a fireplace with a table and wooden screen for the use of the porter. Just inside the hall a room on the right was inscribed, "Secretary's Office," that on the left being the treasurer's. Another was known as the physicians' room, but it is noticeable that it was not until eighteen years later that one for the use of the surgeons is met with. The first mention of a board- or court-room occurs early in the minutes, when an order was given that the bars on the outside of the kitchen windows should be fixed to those of the board-room, probably as a precautionary protection for the iron chest then lately presented to the governors for the reception of their cash and securities. This was probably the middle room mentioned in the schedule, which looked southwards and opened into the garden at the back by a glass door and a flight of stone steps with iron railings.

At the north-west corner of the house was the matron's room, which was provided with a table-bedstead; and it is probable that the surgery, the floor of which was covered with sail-cloth, was also on the entrance floor. The schedule specifies that upon this floor were the entrance hall, drawing-room, middle room, parlour, fore-parlour, two closets and a greenhouse, each of the rooms being wainscoted and fitted with a marble chimney-piece, stone hearth and coving-stones. The greenhouse, "the front being all glass windows," probably corresponded with the small square excrescence in the corner of the eastern wall (seen on the plan), and communicated with the parlour; while the hall contained a room under the staircase and the front door was provided with an iron knocker.

The great staircase was of wood and only reached to the first floor, around which was a gallery with a door of communication with the back-stairs by which the upper storey was reached. Each of these staircases was partly wainscoted, but the minutes record that the walls were ordered to be white-washed, and the floors to be sanded. The great stairs were lighted by a lantern and somewhat later a scraper was fixed at the bottom landing.

The middle (first) floor was probably utilized as wards, of which at first there were two, each having fifteen beds. The schedule specifies five rooms and two closets on this floor, all of which opened on to the gallery running round the house ; those on one side forming the men's ward, those on the other side the women's.

Each of these rooms was wainscoted, had a marble chimney-piece and slab, and a stone hearth and coving-stones, while the gallery was itself wainscoted and had two marble chimney-pieces.

On the top (second) floor, which was reached by the back staircase, which ran from the top to the bottom of the house, there were two rooms and one closet, which were probably utilized as the servants' sleeping quarters.

In the basement were the usual offices, comprising a kitchen, pantry and servants' hall, larder and dairy, wine-cellars, washhouse and still-house. The kitchen was furnished with two dressers, a sink, a five-bar range and cheeks, an iron crane and fire-back, an iron ashes grate, three stewing plates and a Barnstaple oven.

The pantry had a dresser and bench, and in the servants' hall was a five-bar grate with iron fire-back, cheeks and dogs, a Portland stone chimney-piece, and the walls were wainscoted about 6 ft. high. The larder and dairy had dressers and shelves ; the wine-cellars wooden partitions for bottles ;

and the still-house a dresser, two iron preserving plates, a five-bar grate and a stilling-plate.

June 5,
1734

The washhouse was subsequently converted into a bathroom, a shed in the yard being substituted, while one of the outbuildings at the east end was used as a mortuary.

Cisterns on the roof of the various buildings collected the rain water, which was carried thence by means of leaden pipes.

The sash windows all over the house were provided with inner shutters and bars of wood, while iron bars were fixed outside the windows of the kitchen and larder.

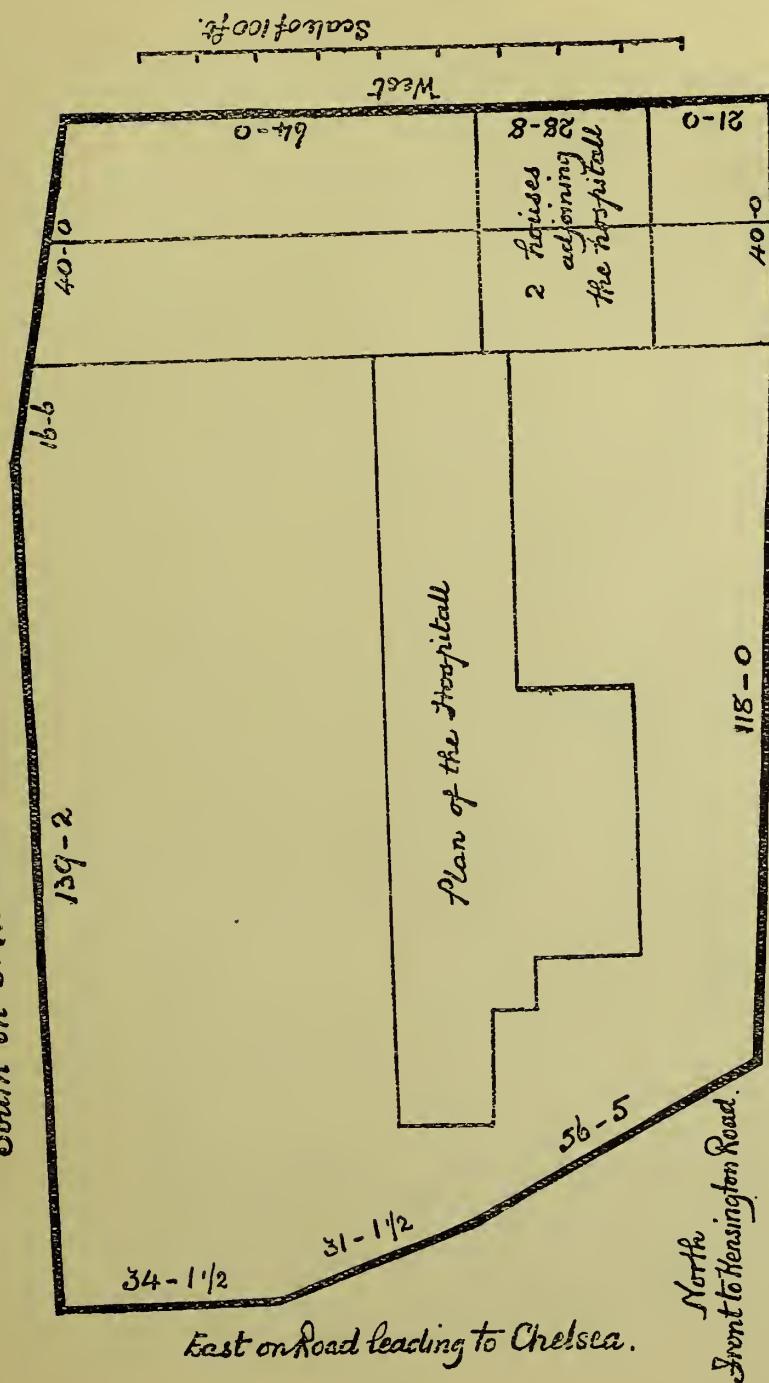
Plan of the
Hospital

Among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster is a roughly-drawn plan (No. 16,310), loose and without either description or scale, which represents the large patch of land, extending from the new road (now Grosvenor Place) westerly towards the town of Knightsbridge, which was let by the Dean and Chapter to John Clarke, or an earlier tenant. Upon the eastern half of this parcel of land, Lanesborough House originally stood. This, the earliest plan which has been discovered, shows a triangular piece of ground at the north-eastern corner which is marked off in pencil, whereas the boundaries of the land to which the plan refers are outlined in red ink. It may therefore be assumed that at that date, 1718 or earlier, the triangle, which looks like roadside waste, was not the property of the Dean and Chapter.

Plate II

Next in point of time comes the plan of the hospital reproduced here, which is found attached to the assignment by John Clarke to the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (as trustee for the society) of his interest in the lease granted to him by the Dean and Chapter, so far as this eastern portion of the land was concerned. This assignment is dated

South on St. Robert Grosvenor's ground.



PLAN OF LANESBOROUGH HOUSE AS IT APPEARED WHEN TAKEN OVER BY TRUSTEES FOR THE HOSPITAL IN 1733.
(The scale as printed represents only 90 feet).

July 22, 1736, but the plan has evidently been copied from an earlier document, and apparently represents Lanesborough House and the two adjoining houses as they appeared when they were taken over by the governors, and certainly before August, 1735, when the building of the northern halves of the two wings was commenced. No picture of Lanesborough House has been discovered, and this ground-plan of the hospital, which is all that remains to us, presents certain points which it is difficult to reconcile with other evidence. For instance, we know that Lanesborough House, the central block, remained unaltered externally, until in 1744, the eastern and western wings having long since been completed, the old body was pulled down and a new one enlarged in its southern front was erected.

But if the plan of the hospital shown in the illustration is correct, then the western wing could not have extended as far as the adjoining houses. Yet in Richard Wilson's picture of 1746, in the background of Hogarth's horseman of 1748, and in Dalgety's print of 1797, little, if any, space divides the adjoining houses from the western wing.

Triangle at
corner of
Grosvenor
Place

The triangle alluded to above has a history of its own. In April, 1735, it was reported to the board by Sir Joseph Ayloffe that he had obtained from the Commissioners for repairing the roads permission for that part of the road within the rails facing St. James's Park to remain enclosed, as it then was, until it should be prejudicial to the road, on the understanding that it should be noted in the minutes of the hospital as an encroachment on the highway.

In the Act of Parliament of 1736, authorizing the conveyance of the freehold from the Dean and Chapter to trustees for the contributors to the hospital, this triangle was not included as part of the land so to be conveyed. But in a plan attached to the lease and re-lease (the method of

conveyance then employed), dated July 13, 1737, the north-eastern corner is square, the triangle being then for the first time included within the boundaries of the plot of land in question. The frontage measurement is there shown to be 189 ft., whereas in all the previous plans it had varied between 150 ft. and 158 ft. In the Charter of 1834 is cited the Act of 1736 (9 George II), and the northern frontage is there described as being 189 ft., although in the Act itself it is stated to be 150 ft. 11 in. The discrepancy between the two statements is inexplicable, unless it is due to the inclusion, subsequent to 1736, of the triangular piece of land in point.

In April, 1737, a brick wall was built to fence in the house next to St. James's Park, and after that date the triangle appears to have been regarded as part of the free-hold; and in Dalgety's print, dated 1797, a small building is seen to be standing upon its northern base, which is alluded to by Mr. Dent in his explanatory notice of Mr. McCormick's picture of John Hunter leaving St. George's Hospital.

The earliest known picture of the building itself is the illustration upon the annual report issued by the governors, February 6, 1735-6, by which time both the northern wings had been completed. From the minutes we learn that, on March 17 of that year, Cheselden presented to the board a copper-plate of the front of the hospital, and subsequent entries record payments to Mr. Vandergucht for printing the copper-plate on the annual lists.¹

Prints of
Hospital

It is probable therefore that Vandergucht,² who executed

¹ *St. George's Hospital Minutes*, April 7, 1736; April 6, 1737; April 12, 1738; April 11, 1739. In the following year the printer was Richardson.

² This must have been Gerard Vandergucht, who lived in Brook Street, and besides being an accomplished engraver, distinguished himself by being the father of from thirty to forty children by one wife who survived him.

many of the anatomical illustrations for Cheselden's works, was the engraver of the copper; and most of the subsequent prints of the hospital, drawn by different hands, and for various publications, depict the building from the same stand-point. This view of the hospital is familiar to most and was the one selected for the penny token, an illustration of which is given in a subsequent chapter.

Plate III In the Crace Collection (Views, x, 29, 30) are two prints of the north-east prospect, one of which was engraved by Ware, and the other by Toms. The former is probably the earlier, although the date assigned to it in the catalogue is incorrect. The print is lettered,

St. George's Hospital near Hide Park.

I. Ware Archt. Desigt. Delint. et Sculp.

and then in pencil follows "1733." It depicts the eastern wing as complete, and since the southern half was not begun till May, nor finished till December, 1736, the pencil date is at least three years too early.

The building has iron railings round it, set on a dwarf brick wall showing an area beneath. The east wing has two chimney-stacks, as has also the central building, these being omitted from Cheselden's plate. The upper end of Grosvenor Place is shown and the opposite wall of the Green Park, but no houses are visible, all being fields to the south. The east wing has three floors, in each of which there are nine windows, and over the middle of the wing is a pediment. No turnpike gates are depicted.

These are the only two representations of the hospital of early date: they are supplemented by Richard Wilson's picture of 1746, the original of which is in the Foundling Hospital, a copy being in the board-room of St. George's.

This shows the hospital in much the same light as it appears in the annual reports, but the painter's easel was *inside* the park in a position north-westwards of the building. The two adjoining houses are shown, each having two storeys and two windows abreast; but little, if any, space appears between them and the western wing.

Richard
Wilson's
Picture,
1748

Still further west, at a distance of about 30 yards, is a rustic cottage standing back from the roadway. This cottage was probably occupied by Huggitt, the cowkeeper, who in return for some civilities rendered to the board was engaged to supply the hospital with milk.¹

The view of the ground floor of the hospital and the adjoining houses is obstructed by a high wall, in the foreground of which is a road upon which coaches are seen travelling westwards. This must be the southern road inside the park: were it the main Knightsbridge Road it would have been hidden from the view of the painter by the high park wall then existing. Away in the S.W. distance appears the turret of Chelsea Hospital, but all else is fields.

The colour of the hospital and the houses is a brick-yellow, as it also is in Hogarth's picture; but there can be little doubt, if Thackeray be believed, that the bricks were red.

In Hogarth's picture the hospital and adjoining houses appear in the background at a much greater distance from the painter, but each of the two adjoining houses shows three windows abreast on each floor, and each has a separate entrance, which in Wilson's picture is hidden from view.

In addition there is the composite picture in the secretary's room, the prominent feature of which is the horseman in the

Hogarth's
Picture,
1748

¹ April, 1737. Resolved that the ditch along the roadside from the hospital to Huggitt's should be scoured to see if that will answer for a sewer or drain (*Minutes, St. George's Hospital*).

foreground with the hospital in the rear. This picture is dated 1748, but the date probably refers to the year in which the horse and dog were painted by Sartorius, to whose signature the date is appended. The hospital is said to be the work of an unknown artist, while the horseman is from the brush of Hogarth.

Its History

The history of the picture is told in a letter, a copy of which is in the minute-books of St. George's. The portrait represents the son of the last Count Soleirol, a French Protestant refugee who sought protection in this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The son in question became the proprietor of the Cocoa Tree Club and was acquainted with Addison, Steele and others connected with *The Spectator*. Upon the breaking up of the coterie, Hogarth was commissioned to paint the portrait of the proprietor, and a sum of sixty guineas was collected in payment of the artist's fee. If the letter alluded to is to be believed, the canvas, already partially filled by a handsome grey horse painted by John Sartorius, was selected in preference to a new picture by reason of both horse and dog being the property of the rider. Why the hospital should have been chosen as a background is unexplained, but it is said to have been the work of a third artist, who took much pains in its production, and to have been approved by all who saw it as being very accurate. The descent of the picture from the proprietor of the club is described in detail. It seems that accident brought it to the attention of Robert Keate, one of the surgeons to St. George's, who offered to purchase it. His offer was refused, but eventually it was sold to Mr. Charles Hawkins, surgeon and treasurer of St. George's Hospital, who presented it to the governors in 1870.¹

¹ Both of these pictures will be reproduced in a later chapter.

But our present interest naturally centres upon the hospital in the background, and it would be especially gratifying if justification could be found for attributing that background to Hogarth. Sartorius is not known to have had any connection whatever with hospitals in general, with St. George's in particular, or with the neighbourhood. And after all, what more natural than that the man who was the friend of Cheselden and the intimate of Dr. John Hoadly—himself one of the medical staff and the son of the Bishop, who was a vice-president and whose portrait, as also that of Cæsar Hawkins, Hogarth had painted—should have looked kindly upon our hospital, as he had upon the Foundling and St. Bartholomew's, and have added the background in remembrance of its existence, and as evidence of his goodwill?

It is probable that the horse was the original figure on the canvas—if the hospital had been painted first, it would not have been so entirely in the background—and the horseman was undoubtedly added. Is it then entirely unreasonable to scout that part of the tradition which associates three artists with the picture, and to suggest that the building was added by Hogarth as an adjunct to the human element which Hogarth he had introduced. For London was his special study: its streets his great delight, whose very noisiness he had so inimitably portrayed that even to look at his "Enraged Musician" was, according to Fielding, enough to make a man deaf. The work of Hogarth is a fascinating study. "Other pictures we look at; his we read," says Lamb. The figures of some painters are said in a spirit of praise to be so lifelike as to seem to breathe: "Hogarth's do even more," writes Fielding, "they appear to think."

And when musing upon Hogarth, other thoughts arise.

Living at the south-east corner of Leicester Fields:

Hogarth and Hunter humane, generous, kind-hearted, honest and truthful, proud and sensitive, but somewhat rough and unpolished; critically observant, industrious, and painstaking; working to the last until struck down suddenly by vascular disease. Whose portrait is this? It might be that of John Hunter; it *is* that of Hogarth. Of course there were points of difference between them, but the vanity of the painter was not entirely unrepresented in the surgeon. Each was a genius, and each recognized his power.

At the last moment the existence of yet another picture of St. George's has come to the cognizance of the writer. It is in water-colour, and is said to be a copy of an oil-painting, dated 1745, which was formerly in the possession of a Dr. Christopher Royston, who practised at Newbury, Berks. The whereabouts of this oil-painting is unknown, but the copy is now in the possession of Mr. Herbert E. Friend, by whose kind permission Ware's print of the hospital has been reproduced from an engraving in his collection.

The water-colour alluded to is taken from the same standpoint as Wilson's picture, of which it might be a copy, excepting that the buildings, instead of being brick-yellow, are of a light-stone colour.

The In-scription on Hospital

The exact wording of the inscription upon the front of the hospital remains in doubt. The earliest-known picture of the building is that represented upon the annual report issued by the governors, February 6, 1735-6, by which time both the northern wings had been completed. As already explained, it is probable that Vandergucht was the engraver of this plate, the inscription on which is—

“ St. George's Hospital for the Sick & | Lame supported by the volun | tary subscriptions of several | of the Nobility Gentry & others.”

The annual report issued in the early spring of 1739-40

is surmounted by a plate, similar in design, but showing certain variations in the inscription, and signed below on the dexter side, I. W. (Isaac Ware).

"ST. GEORGE's Hospital for ye sick | and lame Supported by the volun | tary Subscriptions and Benefactions | of Several Nobility Gentry & Others."¹

Further changes occurred in 1742 and 1743, in which latter year the inscription assumed the form which was continued for many years subsequently,

"ST. GEORGE's Hospital for the Sick | and Lame Sup-
ported by the Voluntary | Subscriptions and Benefactions of
| several of the Nobility Gentry & Others.

On almost every print of the hospital other than those pictured on the annual reports, the inscription varies in one or more details, and probably the exact lettering and spacing was left to the whim of the engraver.

The only argument that can be advanced is that the frequency with which Isaac Ware, the architect, must have visited the building lends support to his reading in preference to that of others.

On September 27, 1733, it was announced at a general board of the governors of the Westminster Infirmary that the Lane family had consented to grant a lease of Lanesborough House for use as a hospital at a rental of £60 per annum, but, as has been explained, a majority had already decided to take other premises. Meanwhile the seceders had accepted Mr. Lane's offer, and a subscription list had been opened for the purpose of founding another hospital. Doubtless many meetings of the promoters of the new society were held during the ensuing fortnight, and certain

Lanes-
borough
House
taken over

¹This lettering is very nearly the same as that upon Ware's larger print (see reproduction).

Architect's
Report

Alterations
Ordered

resolutions then arrived at were read at a subsequent board. But the first general board was held at Mr. Carey's house in Golden Square, October 19, 1733, and committees were then appointed for various purposes. One of these was deputed to repair, fit up, and furnish Lanesborough House with all convenient speed for the reception of proper objects of the charity. Already the services of Mr. Isaac Ware, one of the best known architects of the time, had been secured by the promoters, and, having viewed the property, he reported that he found the house to be strong and well-built, that the floors and walls were strong enough to carry any reasonable weight, and would stand well thirty-five years and upwards, but he could not give any exact account of the drainage, though there appeared to be a well (cesspit), which he thought would take off the soil or waste water, being cleansed once in seven years. This committee at once ordered that the window shutters in the first floor should be cut in two, and the upper part of them applied as shutters to the lower sash of the windows in the upper storey, and that the upper sashes of all the windows should be made to slide as well as the lower ones, which were to be fitted with a proper fastening. They further directed that the necessary closets should be made in the angle of the east front end of the building, with communication thereto from each floor, and that pipes should be brought from the cistern on the top of the east building to convey water to them. The iron window-gratings on the kitchen windows were to be fixed to those of the board-room; a new drain was to be continued from the old one in the front ditch; a lead-lined cistern was to be placed on the top of the closets, and six copper basins for washing the hands were to be provided and chained to the sinks. At the same time the sum of £10 7s. 6d. was ordered to be paid to Lady Lanesborough for the locks, &c.

These comprised the only alterations of any sort which it was considered necessary to make; but before the opening of the hospital on January 1, 1733-4, it had been decided that the accommodation then available (thirty beds) would be insufficient, and some eminent surveyors were called in to join with Mr. Ware in surveying and valuing the building and repairs of the house. In February Mr. Ware presented the board with several plans for additional buildings, and it was decided that the coach-house and stables, which it had been intended to convert into a brew-house, should, with the rooms above them, be fitted up as wards. This appears to have provided for ten more beds. But in May it was thought necessary to procure further accommodation, and the board ordered that two new wards should be erected, one over the apothecary's shop at the east end and the other over the coach-house and stables at the west end.

Suggested
Enlarge-
ment

Two New
Wards
Ordered to
be Built

But before these expenses should be incurred, it was considered prudent that an effort should be made to purchase from Mr. Clarke his interest in the lease of the property, which he held from the Dean and Chapter, and an arrangement was completed with him to this purpose for the sum of £200. Thereupon tenders were advertised for, and by September, 1734, the work was completed at a cost of £320.

Purchase
of Lease
Negotiated

The next precaution taken was to obtain from the three brothers Fox, who were in remainder to Mr. Lane after the death of Lady Lanesborough, an undertaking to the effect that, as each of them should succeed to the property in the lease, he would grant a renewal to the trustees under the same rent and covenants.

The governors then secured a promise from the Dean and Chapter to consider proposals from them for a provisional agreement with regard to that part of the estate upon which

March 31,
1735

Negotiations with
Dean and
Chapter
and
Sir Robert
Grosvenor

the hospital stood, which was held from them on lease by John Clarke, and they opened negotiations with Sir Robert Grosvenor for *the purchase* of two acres of the field southwards which might be necessary if the hospital were to be enlarged.

April 11,
1735

In April the committee appointed to conduct the negotiations reported "that, in consideration of the fact that patients, who upon examination are found to be proper objects of the charity, cannot be taken into the house for want of room ; that the balance of cash in hand is sufficient to defray the cost of erecting an additional building for a further one hundred in-patients, and the annual income arising from subscriptions enough to maintain them, the time had come to enlarge the hospital ; but considering the insecurity of their present tenure, and the scanty dimensions of the ground at their disposal, it appeared advisable to obtain an enlargement of their ground, and if possible to purchase the entire freehold."

The price of Clarke's interest in the lease of the hospital, the two adjoining houses, and the land on which they stood, together with the right of renewal, would be £200, and with the object of preserving as much cash as possible for the purposes of the building then in project, the committee suggested to the Dean and Chapter that the transfer of the freehold should be made subject to the payment of an annual quit-rent of £10. But the Dean and Chapter pointed out that the society, not being a corporate body, was unable to give satisfactory security for the payment of a quit-rent, and while suggesting that some other property should be sought for, in order to avoid placing the governors in a difficult position, offered to accept £500 for the freehold of Lanesborough House and the two adjoining houses, if the necessary Act of Parliament were obtained authorizing them to perform the contract.

The committee, while realizing the difficulty of finding another suitable property, and having no objection to the price asked for the freehold, could not but deplore the fact that, if such a sum were parted with, the balance in hand would be so much depleted that the intention of enlarging the hospital would have to be deferred, "whereby at least one thousand miserable sufferers would be denied the advantages which such enlargement would afford." Nevertheless it was decided to accept the terms offered by the Dean and Chapter, and to apply for an Act of Parliament as suggested.

Meanwhile plans for the new buildings had been presented to the board, and the financial position having improved, it was resolved in May that a north-west wing, and in June that a north-east wing, "agreeable to the former," should be added to the building.

The plan chosen for the west wing was that of Mr. Archer, to which some alterations and additions were made at his desire by Mr. Ware, and the lowest tender, £1,233, that of Mr. John Barnard, was accepted.

By the following February (1735-6) both the new wings were finished at a cost of between £1,500 and £2,000, and were insured against fire for £650 each. Each of them was built in three storeys, and each provided three additional wards, but even before it was announced that they were ready for occupation, the governors made a further contract with Mr. Barnard to carry a further building southwards from the newly-made north-easterly wing, at the same rate he had charged for the other work. This in turn was finished by the end of the year 1736, when it was insured for £850, by which we learn that the whole of the east wing thus completed was insured for £1,500, the southern portion being the larger.

Plans for
New Build-
ings
May 15,
1735,
June 5,
1735

Two
Northern
Wings
Completed

South-east
Wing Com-
pleted

The reason for this inequality will be seen later, when, the central part or body of the hospital being rebuilt, it was considerably deepened on its southern front.

It is probable that, had not the purchase of the freehold and Clarke's interest in the lease, both of which were pending, absorbed nearly the whole of the available cash, the completion of the west wing and the body of the hospital would have been put in hand at once, instead of being delayed for another six years and a half.

Act of Parliament authorizing Sale of Site and Buildings to Trustee for Contributors On May 5, 1736, the Bill authorizing the conveyance of the hospital and two adjoining houses from the Dean and Chapter to a trustee on behalf of the contributors to St. George's Hospital, received the Royal assent, and in the following July John Clarke was paid £208, which sum included two years' interest on the purchase-money from the date of his agreement to assign the lease, which he had demanded.

July 13, 1737

Conveyance of Freehold

Isaac Ware, Architect

The Dean and Chapter were also paid £500, and by the method of conveyance then customary, the then Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, acting as trustee for the contributors, was granted a lease and re-lease of the property, to hold the same for ever or until the society should become incorporated.

Mr. Isaac Ware whose services were obtained by the promoters of the new society, was one of the most eminent architects of his time. He is said to have begun life as a chimney-sweeper's boy and to have exhibited upon his skin to the day of his death the traces of his early calling. Tradition tells that he was discovered by Lord Burlington, who afterwards became his patron, in the act of sketching in chalk the Banqueting House at Whitehall upon the wall of that building. His education was provided for, and after spending some time in Italy studying architecture, he returned to England, obtained various Crown appointments as clerk

of the works, and eventually succeeded Henry Flitcroft in that capacity at Windsor Castle and the Royal Palaces.

The earliest additions to the hospital were carried out according to his designs, and in conjunction with Thomas Archer he drew the plan of the building which is reproduced here. His services to St. George's, which were many and valuable, appear to have been entirely gratuitous, no entry of any payment to him appearing in the minutes, and it is not improbable that it was he who secured the support of his patron the Earl of Burlington for the new society.

Other architects who offered plans and various services to the governors included James Gibbs, Thomas Archer, Henry Flitcroft and Benjamin Timbrell, each of whom was well known in his profession, together with a certain Captain Dubois, whose identity has baffled enquiry, but who was in all probability one of those amateur craftsmen who, like Lord Burlington, made architecture a serious study.

Lady Lanesborough died in August, 1738, and it was considered necessary that a new lease should be obtained from Mr. Lane, Mr. George Fox being joined with him; and all the former trustees except Dr. Wasey and Sergt.-Surgeon Dickins being dead, the Right Hon. Edward Southwell, John Thorold, William Jennens, Richard Dalton, Vigerus Edwards, and Andrew Drummond, Banker, Esquires, were added to the two survivors. Thereupon Messrs. Lane and Fox granted a new lease of the land and premises to the above trustees for a period of $13\frac{1}{4}$ years from June 24, 1744, upon the same rent and covenants as before: and meanwhile the governors had become tenants of the two adjoining houses, although they failed in their efforts to rent a piece of ground adjoining the hospital southwards, as they had previously failed in their negotiations to purchase the same from Sir Robert Grosvenor.

New Lease
from Lane
Family

Thus, from this time, we find the society in the position of being freeholders of the hospital and two adjoining houses, while they were paying for these an annual rent of £60 and £15 respectively—a curious position, explained by the fact that John Clarke granted the sub-leases on payment of a premium down and an annual rent of a peppercorn if demanded. The governors continued to pay rent upon the property until Michaelmas, 1758, when the entire interest became vested in them and their successors for ever.

South-west
Wing Built

In June, 1743, it was decided that the south-west wing of the hospital should be completed "agreeable to the north-east wing,"¹ and in the following March (1743-4) the re-building and enlargement of the body of the hospital (Lanesborough House), according to Mr. Ware's plan, was commenced. It appears that the alignment of its north front was preserved, but the building was considerably enlarged in its southern aspect, which latter was insured for an additional £500.

Central
Body Re-
built and
Enlarged

During the rebuilding, "the board-room of the hospital being at present pulled down," the meetings were held at St. Martin's Library in Castle Street, near the King's Meuse (*sic*), until December 19, 1744, the governors returned to the hospital, and one guinea was ordered to be given to the Rev. Mr. Johnson's servant "for the trouble she had on account of the several general courts which were held by this society in St. Martin's Library."²

No further additions were made to the building until in 1826 it was decided to erect a new hospital after the design of Mr. Wilkins.

¹ Upon the completion of the south-west wing the hospital assumed the form of the letter H, which was adopted in conformity with the general opinion that such a building admitted the freest circulation of air.

² This was the library erected in Castle Street by Archbishop Tenison for the use of the public. MacMichael, *Charing Cross*, p. 252.

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THE GOVERNORS OF ST. GEORGE'S AND WESTMINSTER
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THE
HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS.

THE first General Board meeting was held at the house of a Mr. Carey in Golden Square, on October 19, 1733, the following gentlemen being present :

Jeremiah Griffith, Esq. (in the chair), Inner Temple.
The Rev. Andrew Trebeck, Rector of St. George's,
Hanover Square.
The Hon. Colonel Francis Burton.
Dr. Alexander Stuart, Great Russell Street.
Dr. William Wasey, Gerrard Street.
*Dr. Edward Hody, Prince's Street, Hanover Square.
John Thorold, Esq., Grosvenor Street.
Serjeant-Surgeon Amyand.
Serjeant-Surgeon Dickins.
Mr. John Mallory.
Dr. David Ross.
Mr. James Fraser, Apothecary, at the Red Cross.
William Wogan, Esq.
Mr. Richard Aspinwall.
Captain Joseph Hudson.
Mr. James Wilkie, Surgeon.
Mr. David Middleton, Surgeon, Brewer Street.
Mr. Henry Warcupp, Linen-draper.

It was then resolved that the above, being, with the addition of the under-named, the first subscribers and promoters of the "infirmary now erecting at Lanesborough House," should be trustees or Governors.

Sir Brownlow Sherard, Bart.

Dr. George Lewis Teissier, Pall Mall.

Dr. Richard Mead, Ormond Street.

*The Rev. Hugh Fraser.

*Samuel Tufnell, Esq.

*Dr. James Douglass, Red Lyon Square.

Mr. Thomas Smith.

Mr. Isaac Rand, Apothecary, Haymarket.

Mr. Galfridus Mann, Strand.

Mr. John Clarke, Apothecary, York Buildings.

*Mr. John Pawlett, Surgeon.

*Dr. John Arbuthnot, Cork Street, Burlington Gardens.

*Dr. John Hollins, Pall Mall.

*Dr. Simon Burton, Dover Street.

*Mr. Samuel Despaignol, Surgeon, Conduit Street.

*Dr. Noel Broxolme, Albemarle Street.

With the exception of those marked with an asterisk, all had been subscribers to the mother institution in Chapel Street, while Mr. William Wogan was probably identical with the gentleman of the same name who was one of the four promoters of the earlier Charitable Society in 1715-16.

October 26
1733

At the following meeting the Minutes were read and agreed to as the orders of the Board, whereby it was resolved—

That Mr. Aspinwall and Captain Hudson be joint treasurers :

That Mr. Johnson and his wife (caretakers for Lady Lanesborough) be continued in the house at Hyde Park

Corner as messenger, or porter, and matron, until Christmas next without expense :

That Mr. Thomas Aldridge be taken in as apothecary to the infirmary at Lanesborough House until Christmas next, on trial or probation without expense :

That two sets of books, consisting of a Bible, a Common-Prayer book, *The Whole Duty of Man*, and Nelson's *Feasts and Fasts*, with desks or places to fix them to in both wards, be forthwith provided for the use of this infirmary :

That the utensils and things necessary for making medicines for this house be forthwith purchased by Mr. Rand and Mr. Clarke :

That the gentlemen who have already subscribed, or shall hereafter subscribe, be desired to advance and pay the money at the time of their subscribing (that is, becoming signatories to the subscription list) to the treasurer for the time being :

That Mr. Serjeant Dickins, Mr. Rand, and Mr. Clarke be empowered to purchase of Mr. Hope his shop, utensils of trade and drugs therein, at such price as they shall think the same reasonably worth. (This price was subsequently agreed upon at £21.)

At the same meeting a series of resolutions was passed, By-laws forming the first by-laws of the institution, which bear silent witness to the prescience of the promoters, inasmuch as some of them remain unaltered in effect, if not in actual wording, to the present day.

1. That no one hereafter shall be qualified to be a trustee or Governor who subscribes or pays annually less than £5; except such persons, not exceeding six, whose services shall be judged equivalent to the above-mentioned qualification. [It was under this by-law that Cheselden, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Rev. Dr. Pelling, Rector

of St. Anne's, Soho, were elected Governors; and that (February 7) Mr. Ranby was similarly proposed and elected, as "a gentleman capable of doing this society service," his subscription, like Cheselden's, being only two guineas annually].

2. That such noblemen and others as shall appear by Dr. Teissier's list to have subscribed on or before this day, and qualified according to the above resolution, be likewise trustees or Governors.

3. That all the rest of the subscribers (up) to this day, who shall not be qualified according to the above resolution, upon payment of their qualification money on or before the last day of this month, shall be likewise trustees or Governors.

4. That all trustees or Governors hereafter to be chosen shall be chosen by ballot by the trustees or Governors for the time being. [November 2: It was agreed that an exception should be made in the case of such peers who contributed ten guineas annually by subscription or benefaction, they becoming trustees or Governors without election or ballot. But later in the same month this exception was rescinded, and it was decided that every person should hereafter be proposed at least a fortnight before election (which term was subsequently [December 6, 1734] altered to a month), and that his name should lie upon the table in the meantime. This rule, which holds to the present day, safeguards the qualification of a Governor from being obtained by monetary means, and thus procuring votes at short notice.]

5. That Drs. Teissier, Stuart, and Wasey be appointed physicians to this society; and it being proposed that Drs. Broxolme, Burton, and Ross be added to them, it was unanimously agreed to; and that no more physicians be added without their consent, they having all declared that they would serve without fee or reward. [A standing order

that no physician, surgeon, or apothecary, should be admitted to serve without the consent and approbation of the medical and surgical staff is found in the Minutes of the Westminster Infirmary (December 20, 1721).]

6. That Mr. Serjeant Dickins and Mr. Serjeant Amyand be the *principal surgeons*, they having been pleased to accept thereof; and that Mr. Wilkie be surgeon-in-ordinary; they all declaring that they will serve without fee or reward. [October 22 it was announced that Mr. Cheselden intended to subscribe, and would accept the office of one of the principal surgeons to the society.]

7. That all subscribers, or persons inclinable to subscribe or contribute to this charity, be first apprised of the several privileges annexed to the several sums subscribed or contributed.

8. That no person receiving salary, fee, or reward from this society be capable of being a trustee or Governor thereof.

9. That no person being a trustee or Governor of this society shall be present while any demand or claim of his be under consideration.

10. That in case any dispute or difference shall arise upon any question, such question shall be fairly stated, and the same determined by a ballot if required (by two or more Governors).

11. That in taking such ballot, every trustee or Governor who shall pay to this charity £10 yearly or more shall have two votes.

12. That any benefactor to this charity of £100 shall be *ipso facto* a trustee or Governor for life, with two votes.

13. That a committee be appointed to draw up such by-laws as they shall judge necessary to be laid before the Board: that the by-laws of St. Thomas's Hospital be referred to their consideration: and that Drs. Teissier, Stuart, and

Wasey, Serjeants Dickins and Amyand, Colonel Burton, Mr. Thorold, Mr. Wogan, Captain Hudson, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Smith, be the said committee. [This committee considered the by-laws of existing English and foreign hospitals, and chose from them those which they considered most appropriate to the new establishment.]

14. That a committee be appointed to repair, fit up, and furnish, Lanesborough House with all convenient speed for the reception of proper objects of charity ; and that Dr. Hody, Serjeants Dickins and Amyand, Mr. Aspinwall, and Mr. Clarke, be the said committee.

15. That a committee be appointed to fix, fit up, and furnish, the apothecary's shop with such medicines and other utensils as they shall judge necessary for present use ; and that Serjeant Dickins, Mr. Rand, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. James Fraser be the said committee.

Lanesborough House was as yet unfurnished, so these three committees met at Tom's Coffee-house, on the eastern side of St. Martin's Lane, north of Chandos Street, which was at the same time more convenient to a majority of the members than Hyde Park Corner, then some distance beyond the limits of the town. The hour of meeting was usually five o'clock in the evening. Here also met the contributors to the Westminster Fire Office, in which the hospital building was insured. But in the following year (1734) the hospital committees appear to have changed their meeting-place to the Rainbow Coffee-house in Lancaster Court, opposite the south side of St. Martin's Church.

Meanwhile money and support were being obtained by various means, and by the end of October the treasurer had received in cash £351 6s., which amount was placed in the hands of Mr. Andrew Drummond, the banker, of Charing Cross. Evidently there was a desire to accumulate a sum of money

to provide for the current expenses of the hospital when it should be opened at Christmas, as was the original intention : for we find a resolution asking subscribers to pay the amount of their contributions in advance. At the Westminster Infirmary, for the same reason, subscriptions were payable quarterly.

It was further announced that the Bishop of Winchester, who was the President of the Westminster Infirmary, was inclined to promote and encourage the new society, whereupon he was elected a trustee or Governor under the special by-law, without subscription.

On November 2 a Board meeting was held for the first time at Lanesborough House, thirty Governors, among them the Bishop of Winchester, being present ; and the following week it was resolved that the institution should for the future be called by the name of the hospital or infirmary near Hyde Park Corner. (Maitland says it was at first called Hyde Park Hospital.)

It was not until almost a year later (September 26, 1734) that the name of the patron saint was appropriated, the first mention of whom is found in the petition for a charter formulated for presentation to His Majesty George II. Situated within the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, whose church is stated to have been dedicated to St. George the Martyr in honour of the first monarch of the Hanoverian line, it appears probable that the hospital acquired its title in deference to the reigning Sovereign.

In due course the committees submitted reports of their deliberations ; whereupon certain minor improvements and structural alterations were directed to be carried out ; thirty bedsteads were ordered to be ready in five weeks' time, and certain by-laws were suggested for adoption :

1. That there be a weekly Board of Governors or trustees, By-laws

not less than five in number, including the physicians, for the management of the affairs of the house, and the admitting and discharging of patients, every Friday [February 1, 1733-4, the Board day was altered to Wednesday], at nine in the morning punctually ; and that the physicians do then examine the patients, as also every Monday at the same hour.

2. That there be a general Board of Governors or trustees, not less than fifteen in number, held the first Wednesday in February yearly, for the auditing of accounts to the Christmas preceding, and other extraordinary business.

3. That the weekly Board do, as often as they shall see occasion, call a general Board : that they do give fifteen days' notice thereof at the least in some newspaper : that summons be also sent to the usual place of abode of each Governor or trustee at least three days before such general Board-day : that the heads of the business for such general Board be prepared before such summons be sent : and that this by-law commence at Christmas next.

4. That the weekly Board do each week desire one or more of their number to attend the house as visitors, as often as may be, for the week following.

5. That the physicians and surgeons be desired to agree upon such orders and regulations as they shall think most proper to answer the end proposed touching the examining and prescribing to the patients, and settling their pharmaco-pœia.

6. That such of the clergy as are subscribers or contributors to this society be desired to take upon themselves in their turns, or otherwise, to attend, or procure others to attend, daily to read prayers to the patients, and to examine, instruct, and admonish them as there shall be occasion.

7. That the register (secretary) do provide a book for entering the names of the patients, *both in and out of the*

house ; the times when they were admitted ; by whom recommended ; and when they died or were discharged.

It was at this meeting that Mr. Thomas Smith was appointed "secretary and register," without fee or reward, which office he continued to hold until his death in June, 1738.

Rules were drawn up for the direction of the matron, apothecary, and porter, and diet tables were arranged for the patients and nursing staff. A poor-box fitted with two different locks, each treasurer having one key, was fixed in the hall, which was to be opened by the weekly Board at each meeting, the money thus collected being applied to the clothing of such patients as might stand in need of such upon their discharge, and to the provision of some small sum of money for their relief, if necessary. It appears also to have been utilized for paying the expenses of patients to their homes ; for redeeming their clothes from pawn ; for carrying sick persons to Bath ; for the purchase of trusses, wooden legs, etc. ; and for the board and lodging, outside the hospital, of those suffering from small-pox, itch, and other infectious distempers. Besides the casual collections thus made, various sums were contributed specially towards this fund, which was supplemented by order of the Board by the fees paid by the resident pupil for his board and lodging in the hospital ; the money found upon deceased patients, if unclaimed by the relatives ; and the charge of 4d. *per diem* imposed upon soldiers received into the hospital.

Meanwhile two nurses were engaged "as from Christmas next," one for the men's and one for the women's wards, at £6 per annum, with board and lodging ; a cook was obtained at a salary of £7 per annum ; and Thomas Johnson and his wife were appointed messenger and matron at £8 and £10 per annum respectively. On the delivery of the thirty

November
16, 1733

Poor-Box

bedsteads previously ordered, a similar number were bespoken (making sixty in all). These were tester bedsteads, with curtains for use in the winter months: they were not to exceed 6 feet in height from the floor, but to be as much lower as might be convenient, the cost of each being 43s. ; while longcloth sheets, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ells by $1\frac{1}{2}$ breadths of cloth, costing, with pillow-bier and for making, 7s. 6d. per pair ; bedding, blankets, bed-curtains, and cover-lids were put on order. Among other purchases was a clock, £4 ; a ballot-box, 15s. ; and a sedan-chair, £3.

**Opening of
Hospital**

As the time approached for the opening of the hospital, the following advertisement was inserted in the *Daily Advertiser*:

“Notice is hereby given that the Governors of the hospital near Hyde Park Corner will attend there on Tuesday the first day of January next at 9 in the morning to receive such patients as shall come recommended by any subscriber or benefactor ; and that a sermon will be preached to recommend the charity on Sunday the 30th (December) inst., in the parish church of St. George, Hanover Square, by the Rev. Mr. Trebeck, the Rector thereof.” [This sermon was subsequently printed at the request of the Board.]

**January 1,
1733-4**

**The First
Patients**

Punctually to promise the hospital was opened, thirty beds only being available on that date, when 4 persons—3 males and 1 female—were received as in-patients for a month (which appears to have been considered the average duration of illness) by Dr. Alexander Stuart, the senior acting physician. Two of these men, being “strangers,” were allowed 8d. a day for their support “until the hospital cloths are ready.” On the next receiving day 12 more in-patients—5 men and 7 women—one of whom died almost immediately after his admission, and 7 out-patients—3 men and 4 women—were received under the care of Dr. William Wasey. It is evident, therefore, that from the first out-

patients, whose condition was not considered serious enough for admission, were placed upon the hospital books, a fact which stultifies the statements of various authors that the out-patients of early times were those only who, after receiving treatment in the hospital, were continued as out-patients during convalescence.¹

It was the custom to enter in the Minute-books (as well as in the special register), the name, address, and disease of each applicant, together with the names of the recommending subscriber and the receiving physician, as also the result of the treatment. This custom continued until July, 1735, after which date the particulars were omitted by order of the Board, it being observed that their entry occasioned much trouble, and was unnecessary, since there were special books provided for that purpose.

Few details more valuable to the historian than the duplication of these entries have been preserved; and, since the special admission-books have been lost beyond hope of recovery, the entries in the Minutes provide the only material for an exhaustive analysis of the diseases, treatment, and other particulars of hospital practice in these early times.

A few days after the hospital was opened, rules relating to *Staff* the method of visiting and prescribing for the patients—and, shortly afterwards, others for the well-ordering of chirurgical matters—were adopted, the first of which enjoined that the surgeons should be particularly careful to be tender and compassionate to the patients. Each of the five acting physicians—Dr. Teissier's position on the staff appears to have been purely honorary—undertook to attend weekly in rotation on Wednesdays at 9 a.m. to examine and receive both in- and out-patients, and to prescribe for any who required immediate assistance. Again, on Saturdays, all the physicians visited their respective patients, and on Tuesdays

¹ See Holmes' *Brodie*, p. 47; Dent's *Nursing*, p. 18.

reported upon those who were fit to be discharged. Thus, the receiving physician attended three times, and the others twice, weekly. On the other hand, one of the surgeons-in-ordinary attended to dress the patients daily, and the principal surgeons were summoned whenever their assistance was required. It is noticeable that there were no weekly reports from the surgeons, the physicians reporting upon all cases ; and it is probable that, the applicants having been examined by the physician of the week, one of the surgeons-in-ordinary being in attendance, and the supervisory committee having selected the patients for admission, they were received into the house by the physician, who thereupon handed over to the surgeon those cases which required surgical treatment.

The early hours of attendance—*i.e.*, 9 a.m. for the physicians all the year round, and 7 to 9 in summer, and 9 to 11 in winter, for the surgeons for the dressing of their patients —are worth passing notice.

February 1,
1733-4

Analysis of
Cases

By February 1 the hospital contained 2 wards and 60 beds, to which 43 in-patients (18 males and 25 females) had been admitted, of whom 5 had died, and 1 had been discharged for irregularity. In addition, 25 out-patients had received treatment, of whom 2 were subsequently made in-patients, and 3 had returned thanks on being cured. Thus, 65 patients had been relieved during the first month of the hospital's existence, the cases being tabulated as follows :

10 Consumption,	of whom 2 died.
8 Intermittent fever,	„ „ 1 „
1 Diarrhoea,	„ „ 1 „
5 Rheumatism,	„ „ 1 „
1 Jaundice,	„ „ 1 was cured.
2 Chlorosis,	„ „ 1 „ „
1 Herpes,	„ „ 1 „ „
1 Albugo,	„ „ 1 was discharged for irregularity.

There was also 3 fractures, 11 ulcers of various kinds (3 being described as *foul*), 2 tumours of breast (1 cancerous), 2 caries of leg, 2 glandular tumours, and 1 case of each of the following : ringworm, rupture, stone in bladder, scabutic eruptions, flux, contusion, gravel, worm fever, pain in breast, palsy, ophthalmia, fever, asthma, dropsy, spina ventosa, and colic.

Meanwhile every effort was made to secure the support of **Funds** the public. Dr. Teissier, who was possessed of powerful interest, showed himself especially active in obtaining subscriptions and benefactions, and he it was who was entrusted with the original list of subscribers. This list was afterwards copied and attached to each of ten blank rolls, with a preamble, the names and professional titles of the medical men who had promised their support, and an abstract of the by-laws. These rolls were distributed among the Governors, that they might procure further subscriptions, and were produced at each weekly Board. At the end of November they were called in, and the names of the new subscribers were added to each roll, which was then passed on to another Governor, and so on.

The usual amount of subscription appears to have been five guineas, with a benefaction of a similar sum. At the end of February all the rolls were called in, and 2,000 copies of the entire list of subscribers and benefactors, with the selected by-laws, were printed and circulated among the public.

One of these printed lists, dated April 3, 1734, is preserved in the British Museum, to which is appended the following preamble :

“ Whereas great numbers of sick and indigent persons in and about the city and liberty of Westminster and elsewhere :

(many of whom noway entituled to parochial relief) are rendered useless to themselves, their families and the community ; by distempers often arising from the unwholesome close and confined air, of the houses and lodgings in which they live : as well as for proper advice dyet medicines and other necessaries.

“ And whereas Lanesborough House near Hyde Park Corner, within the Liberty of Westminster, is taken for an hospital upon lease at £60 a year ; which by the physicians and surgeons, as to air, situation and other conveniences for that purpose ; is judged preferable to any in the low part of Westminster.

“ We whose names are underwritten, being desirous to contribute to the carrying on and support of such an useful necessary and commendable work ; do subscribe the following sums of money to be by us paid yearly ; (*During Pleasure*) for the promoting furnishing and defraying the necessary expenses of the said hospital, and relieving such poor sick persons who shall be recommended by any of the subscribers or benefactors ; with the approbation and consent of the major part of the Governors then present.

“ Notice is hereby given to all such as have removed their contributions from Chappel Street Westminster to Hyde Park Corner : as follows, That at a general board held there the 11th day of January last it was resolved ; that to avoid contention and to promote the charity carried on as well there as here : notwithstanding the undoubted right which by the opinion of eminent counsel, the members of this board as subscribers there have to a share in the distribution of the cash in the iron chest ; one key of which being in the hands of one of the Governors of this hospital, he should be at liberty to deliver up the said key, and the same with a copy of this order was by him delivered up accordingly.”

Among the early contributors were many whose patronage, wealth, and position in the world of fashion made their support a valuable asset; and many ladies were included, though rendered ineligible by their sex for election as Governors. The list was headed by Queen Caroline, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Royal Princesses; and contained almost the whole bench of Bishops; sixteen Dukes and many of their Duchesses; Lord Chesterfield, living hard by in Mayfair, celebrated for his *Letters*; Lord Burlington, in Piccadilly, the patron of Pope and Gay and of the architects Kent and Ware; Lord Bolingbroke, the friend of the Prince of Wales; Lord Bathurst, the patron of Pope and Addison, whose son built Apsley House; the eccentric Lord Ranelagh, whose sister married Sir John Hill, the physician, playwright, and pamphleteer; and Sir Robert Walpole himself, then at the zenith of his career. Among others appear the names of Richard (Beau) Nash, who forgot not to be charitable, even while making pleasure the business of his life; Sir Brownlow Sherard, a munificent benefactor to the hospital; Lady Betty Germaine; William Maitland, the historian of London; the Rev. Alexander Keith, the notorious trafficker in irregular marriages at St. George's Chapel in Mayfair; Michael Rysbrack, the sculptor; David Garrick; and Sir Dudley Rider, who gave a benefaction of £30, "being a fine to prevent prosecution for laying rubbish in the streets" (Minutes, November 27, 1751). An imposing array of medical celebrities, additional to those forming the hospital staff, included Sir Hans Sloane, who combined the skill of the physician with a transcendent knowledge of natural history, whose collections formed the nucleus of the British Museum, and who, excluding the doubtful case of Edward Greaves, was the first physician upon whom the honour of a baronetcy was conferred; Richard Mead, the Mæcenas of his age, whose library was of world-

Contribu-
tors

wide fame ; James Douglas, the advocate of the high operation for stone in opposition to Cheselden ; Arbuthnot, eulogized by Thackeray as "one of the wisest, wittiest, most accomplished, and gentlest of mankind" ; Sir John Pringle ; Sir Edward Wilmot ; and many another master of medicine, whose reputation has not survived.

Annual Reports

An annual report was published at the end of each year, containing a statement of the proceedings of the charity, particulars of its management, the number of patients cured and discharged, an account of income and expenditure, an abstract of the by-laws, and a list of the Governors and contributors. None of these annual reports has been preserved among the archives of the hospital, with the exception of that for 1749 ; but a volume of leaflets in the British Museum¹ contains a series of them from 1734 to 1747, with the exception of those for 1741 and 1742, the former of which is missing, the latter being included in the Crace Collection. The report for 1756 is among other miscellaneous documents in the possession of the present writer. Each of these reports was printed on one sheet large folio, as was also the first list of subscribers, published in April, 1734 ; but the report for 1742, in the Crace *Miscellanea*, is a broadside, and was possibly a proof. An engraved print of the hospital, showing the two northern wings, then recently built, appears on the report for 1735, and each succeeding one was similarly illustrated. It is from this view that most of the early pictures of the building were taken. How long the reports continued to be issued in folio form has not been ascertained, for none subsequent to 1756 has come to the knowledge of the author ; all that can be explained is that the earliest 8vo. report preserved at the hospital is for the year 1822, and the series is even then intermittent.

¹ Press Mark 777, 1, i.

On October 22, 1733, a short narrative of the occasion of founding the new society was read to the Board, who directed that it should be extended, and that a copy should be sent to the Bishop of Winchester. This was "the written case," "Case" transcribed in full on p. 23 (*ante*), which was circulated privately, and in answer to which the counterblast of the Westminster subscribers was printed and published. In January, 1733-4 this "case" was reconstructed, and a copy sent to the Bishop, which he returned with certain amendments; whereupon 3,000 copies were ordered to be printed (see p. 32 *ante*). A committee having selected certain by-laws, these, together with a list of Governors and contributors and a preamble to the subscription roll, were printed and circulated among the subscribers (April 3, 1734). Meanwhile Mr. Trebeck's sermon, with the rules and by-laws of the hospital, a list of Governors and subscribers, some Observations and Motives to enforce the Charity, and Prayers for the use of the patients, had been published in pamphlet form. The sermon was preached December 30, 1733, and the title-page bears the imprint of that year; but intrinsic evidence proves that it could not have issued from the press until the end of February following, so that in all probability the "case" dated February 6 is the earliest extant printed document dealing with the hospital.

List of Subscribers

At the beginning of February, 1733-4, the Governors **Funds** instructed the treasurers to invest the accumulated capital in the purchase of £1,000 East India Stock, which bonds were deposited in an iron chest, which had been presented to the society by Sir Brownlow Sherard (and which is probably identical with that which is still to be seen in the secretary's room), the three keys of which were placed in the custody of the two treasurers and the Rev. Andrew Trebeck. This capital had accrued from several benefactions, among which

was the sum of £100 presented by the Bishop of Winchester towards the expenses of procuring a charter of incorporation, "if such a project was in the minds of the Governors."

But it is evident that at this period the provision of increased accommodation, rather than a charter, was in contemplation,

February 13,
1733-4

for we find that on the thirteenth of that month Mr. Isaac Ware presented plans for additional buildings; whereupon it was resolved that the rooms over the coach-house and stables should be furnished as wards, 20 more beds being ordered, and 3 more nurses engaged. Thus upon the completion of these plans the hospital was equipped with 80 beds and 5 nurses.

May 8, 1734

In order to make it known that the hospital had secured the support of the Royal Family and persons of wealth and position, the following advertisement was inserted in the newspapers :

"We hear that Her Majesty has lately given to the hospital near Hyde Park Corner the sum of £100, and likewise that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has subscribed the sum of £100 per annum to the same charity. We are also informed that the Right Hon. the Countess of Harold and the other exors. of the Right Hon. the Earl of Thanet dec^d, have lately given the sum of £500 and subscribed the sum of £20 per annum to the said charity; and also that an honourable great benefactor to this laudable undertaking (meaning Sir Brownlow Sherard) has given £100 more besides some considerable benefactions."

The subscriptions and benefactions alluded to were as follows :

		£	s.	d.
17 April, 1734, Her Majesty Queen Caroline, benefaction	...	100	0	0
3 May, 1734, Exors. of the Earl of Thanet, deceased, benefaction	...	500	0	0

		£	s.	d.
3 May, 1734,	Exors. of the Earl of Thanet, deceased, annual subscription	...	...	20 0 0
5 June, 1734,	H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, annual subscription	...	100	0 0
5 June, 1734,	Sir Brownlow Sherard, benefaction	...	...	100 0 0

These were followed by—

28 August, 1734,	H.R.H. the Princess Royal, benefaction	..	...	31 10 0
28 August, 1734,	T.R.H. Princesses Amelia and Caroline, benefaction	...	...	21 0 0

After the death of Queen Caroline, £100, "being Her late Majesty's Royal Gift and Bounty," was paid to the Governors of the hospital in pursuance of His Majesty's command, and an announcement was inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* (May 24, 1738), to that effect.

These benefactions were coincident with a suggestion to procure the freehold of the property, for which purpose a committee was appointed, and it was decided to build 2 new wards —one over the coach-house at the west, and the other over the apothecary's shop at the east end of the mansion. These were known as the "out" wards, from their situation over the out-buildings, for which 30 more bedsteads were ordered; and when, during their erection, H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, announced his intention of giving an annual subscription of £100 to the charity, it was resolved that, as a mark of appreciation, one of them should be called Prince's Ward. At this time there were 110 beds in the hospital; but it appears that 10 of these were occupied by the resident staff and nurses, and were not available for patients.

The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Richard Willis), who had June 5, 1738 **President**

been elected President of the hospital at some date subsequent to April 3, 1734, died in the following August; and it was decided to request H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, to accept the vacant office. Upon his compliance, he was desired to name one or more Vice-Presidents, as he might think fit, his choice falling upon the Lord Chancellor (Talbot), who was joined somewhat later in that office by the Earl of Oxford and the new Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly).

Wards

It has been found impossible at this distance of time to identify positively each ward according to its name; but a critical study of the Minutes leaves little doubt that the 2 original wards in the body of the building, with which the hospital was opened, were called "Richmond" and "Newcastle," after the Dukes of those names, each of whom was an early supporter of the charity. The "out" ward, corresponding to "Prince's," was probably named "Talbot," after the Lord Chancellor (about November, 1734). In May, 1736, the 2 northern wings were completed, each of which provided 3 new wards (2 large and 1 small); whereupon 30 more bedsteads were ordered, making 140 in all, of which 10 were utilized by the resident staff and nurses.

June 15,
1737

Upon the completion of the south-eastern wing, likewise providing 3 new wards (2 large and 1 small), at the commencement of 1737, 66 more beds were available, making in all 13 wards, with just over 200 beds, an average of 15 beds per ward. So matters remained until, during 1743 and 1744, the H shape of the hospital was completed by the erection of the south-western wing and the enlargement of the body towards the south. Meanwhile lack of funds had necessitated in 1738, and again in 1742, the temporary closure of the "back" wards, until, with the final completion of the building in 1745, the hospital was provided with at least 15 wards, and just over 250 beds.

These 15 wards were, in order of date :

Two original wards. { Richmond, 1734, named after Duke of Richmond and Lenox.
 Newcastle, 1734, named after Duke of Newcastle.
 Prince's, 1734 (June), named after H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales.
 Talbot, 1734 (November), named after Lord Chancellor Talbot.
 Winchester, 1736, named after Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester.
 King's, 1736, named after H.M. George II.
 Princesses', 1736, named after T.R.H. Princesses Anne, Amelia, and Caroline.
 Ratcliffe, 1736, named after Dr. John Ratcliffe (Radcliffe).
 Marlborough, 1738, named after Charles, Duke of Marlborough.
 Thanet, 1738, named after the late Earl of Thanet.
 Queen's, 1738, named after H.M. Queen Caroline (died 1738).
 Oxford, 1738, named after Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.
 Burlington, 1738, named after Richard, Earl of Burlington.
 Uxbridge, 1744, named after the Earl of Uxbridge (died 1743).
 Sherard, 1744, named after Sir Brownlow Sherard (died 1736).

There were also the "back" wards.

In 1744 mention is made of the 6 great wards—3 in the east wing for women, and 3 in the west wing for men; and then for the first time the sexes were placed on different sides of the house, though medical and surgical cases still lay side

by side. In addition there appear to have been 2 salivating wards—the Burlington for males, the Princesses' for females. There were also special wards known as “cutting” (stone) and accident wards; and, after the rebuilding of the body of the hospital, an operating theatre was provided over the Board-room, previous to which date operations had been performed in the surgery, which appears to have been upstairs, or in the ward where the patient lay.

**Salaries
and
Gratuities**

On October 3, 1734, the Prince-President visited the hospital, and, upon leaving, presented a benefaction of £50 to the charity, and a further sum of twenty guineas for the “servants,” which was distributed between the salaried officers in the following proportions :

				£	s.	d.
Matron	...	...	...	6	6	0
Apothecary	...	...	...	3	3	0
Messenger	...	...	...	1	11	6
Four old nurses, at £1 11s. 6d. each				6	6	0
Three nurses (in all)	...	...	...	2	2	0
Cook, housemaid, and apothecary's man, at 10s. 6d. each	...	...	...	1	11	6
				<hr/>		
				£	21	0 0

The Minute is valuable as pointing to the fact that there were at that date 7 nurses, and as describing the relative standing of the various officials in the eyes of the Board. But in addition to such very occasional gifts as these—the only other recorded instance of such extraneous gratuities is that of two sums of 2s. 6d. presented to the porter by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and the Earl of Pembroke on the occasion of their visiting the hospital, which in his honesty (or contempt) he reported to the Board, who ordered the money to be placed in the poor-box—it was the custom at the end of every year to present to each of the salaried officers

a sum of money "for the encouragement of their diligence and application, not as additional wages."

The following table shows the respective wages and annual gratuities of each at the termination of the first year's service (January, 1734-5) :

Wages.				Gratuity.				
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
20	0	0	...	apothecary	...	10	0	0
10	0	0	...	matron	...	10	0	0
6	0	0	5	day nurses (each)		4	0	0
6	0	0	5	night nurses (each)		2	0	0
4	0	0	...	housemaid	...	2	0	0
8	0	0	...	messenger	...	2	0	0
7	0	0	...	cook	...	2	0	0

Each of these received full board and lodging in the hospital.

The wages and gratuity allowances in the year 1756 is appended by way of comparison :

Wages.				Gratuity.				
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
20	0	0	...	apothecary	...	40	0	0
20	0	0	...	clerk	...	20	0	0
10	0	0	...	matron	...	20	0	0
6	0	0	19	day nurses (each)		5	0	0
6	0	0	2	night nurses (each)		4	0	0
8	0	0	...	messenger	...	10	0	0
6	0	0	2	porters (each)		7	0	0
7	0	0	...	1 cook	...	4	0	0
4	0	0	...	1 cook	...	1	0	0
6	0	0	2	laundrymaids (each)		5	0	0
6	0	0	...	1 maid	...	2	0	0
14	0	0	1	apothecary's man		2	12	0
10	0	0	1	apothecary's labourer		2	12	0

for cleaning dead-house.

The messenger received an extra gratuity of £20 for collecting subscriptions ; the nurses of the salivating, cutting, and accident wards, an extra gratuity of £1 ; and the maid, extra for cleaning the chapel, £2.

Staff

In 1736 an assistant apothecary, and a porter distinct from the messenger, were added to the staff, and in 1737 the number of nurses was 16.

In 1738 a resident clerk was engaged, at a salary of £20, in the place of an honorary secretary ; and the extra work entailed by the increase of accommodation resulted in an almost yearly increment of the annual gratuities. In 1744, by which time two apothecary's assistants had become necessary, and a chapel had been erected in the body of the building, one of the nurses received an extra gratuity for taking care of the latter ; and in the following year the number of nurses had reached 20, of whom those holding the more onerous positions in charge of the accident, cutting, and salivating wards, were granted a special honorarium. These numbers appear to have remained unchanged during the remainder of the first twenty years of the hospital's existence. But besides the wages and gratuities to the resident staff, payments were made to several of the outside servants. The beadle of the parish was paid 6s. 8d. per quarter for the watch ; and Christmas boxes were given to the watchman, the bellman, the turncocks (watermen), the corpse-bearers, the brewer's men, the lampman, the hearse-driver and grave-digger, the night (soil) man, and the collector for the Chelsea Waterworks.

Novem-
ber 16,
1733

Rules for the use of the matron were framed and placed in her room :

Matron

That she shall take care of all the household goods and furniture, according to the inventory, and account for the same.

That she shall see that the inferior servants do their duty, and in case of misbehaviour or neglect acquaint the treasurer or visitors.

That she shall take charge of all the door-keys, and see that the outer doors be always locked at 9 p.m., and not opened before 7 a.m., from Michaelmas to Lady Day ; and at 10 p.m., and not opened before 5 a.m., from Lady Day to Michaelmas ; unless otherwise ordered by the Governors or visitors (and see below).

That such of the patients (male and female) as are able to work be employed in assisting the nurses and servants in the business of the house. [The rules of the Knightsbridge Lazarhouse (1595) enjoined that those of the inmates who were able should be obliged to work, and such appears to have been the custom at the chartered hospitals.]

That no patient be allowed out of the house without leave of the physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries ; and that leave be not given to any patient to go into St. James's Park, or the Green Park, called Constitution Hill, upon any pretence whatever, to avoid offence.

That no gin, or other strong liquors, shall be brought into the house by or to any patient ; and if any such be found, it shall be taken away.

That she keep a daily account of all the meat, bread, and other provisions and necessaries brought into the house, and how much has been consumed ; and that no broken bread or meat be carried out by any patient or servant.

That the men patients shall not be allowed in the women's ward, and *vice versa*.

That she take care that the rooms, clothes, and linen of the patients be kept clean and decent.

That when any minister reads prayers, notice shall be given to all the patients who are able to attend.

That she shall not receive any patient but on Board-days, except in case of accidents on the order of a Governor, which she shall report to the next weekly Board. [August 21, 1734, it was suggested that patients with urgent and violent symptoms should be admitted on days other than the weekly Board-day, but the proposal was not adopted. October 16, 1734, it was ordered that no accident cases, whether with or without a recommendation, should be admitted after 6 p.m. in the winter, and 9 p.m. in the summer, months (and see above).]

That she shall take care that there be no playing at cards, dice, or other games in any of the wards ; and that she visit them frequently for that purpose.

That she herself, and all the servants, shall lodge in the several apartments provided for them, and shall eat within doors.

That she shall report to the weekly Board, treasurers, or visitors, all misdemeanours or other matters which may prejudice the charity.

That she shall give account every Wednesday morning of the number of empty beds.

Mrs. Johnson continued her duties as matron until her death, early in November, 1739. Originally caretakers for Lady Lanesborough, she and her husband had been elected matron and messenger upon the establishment of the hospital, and each of them died in harness, he having predeceased her in December, 1737. In his official capacity it is evident that he was subordinate to his wife, for upon the occasion of complaint being made by the apothecary of ill-usage from the messenger, the position of the latter was defined by the Board (June 1, 1737) as being subject to the authority of the apothecary, and that it was in respect to his wife that he was permitted to dine with them.

Anne Johnson appears to have fulfilled the duties of her office with satisfaction. Only one complaint against her is recorded during the six years she was matron, and after investigation of the circumstances she was acquitted by the Board. Upon her decease, Mrs. Abigail Hampsted was selected from several candidates at a salary and gratuity of £10 per annum. From the first it appeared that she was not a good housekeeper, constantly exceeding the allowance of provisions; and finally a charge was formulated by the physician that, by her mismanagement, she had raised a general clamour against her both by nurses and patients. In July, 1742, she was suspended from her duties, and six months later was finally discharged, Mrs. Moss being appointed as her successor.

By order of the Board a list was kept of those applicants Nurses for the position of nurse who were recommended by Governors or other persons of distinction. At first, priority of application was the guiding principle of selection; but somewhat later it was decided that due regard should be paid to the claims of such women as "have been, or may happen to be, patients in the hospital, and have behaved themselves to the satisfaction of the Board." It was the custom for such patients as were able to assist the nurses and servants, and the modicum of experience thus gained was worth consideration at a time when this was the only training available, except at the workhouses—still few and far between. Instances of such occur in the Minutes—*e.g.*, April 30, 1735, one in-patient cured and discharged, was awarded 5s. out of the poor-box, and employed to assist a nurse in the "out" ward in the nurse's illness; and September 14, 1737, a female patient, who had been for some time employed as a nurse, was engaged in that capacity. Under these circumstances the type of nurse and the measure of her capability was of a low order. They dressed as they pleased, uniforms being unheard of for well nigh a century

later; and the nature of the complaints made against them testifies to their many deficiencies. Neglect and ill-usage of patients, taking money from patients and visitors, permitting irregularities of various descriptions on the part of patients, insubordination, drinking with patients, indecent behaviour, and lying out at night—such were the accusations levelled against them. In the Annual Report of the London Hospital, 1747-8, boast is made of the experienced honesty and tenderness of the nurses; but of their nursing ability a discreet silence is observed.

We hear nothing in these early times of any grades in the nursing staff, except that each new recruit commenced her duties as a night nurse, or “watch,” and was not considered, at entry, to be on the permanent staff, but on probation. The choice of the less experienced for the more responsible duties of the long night can only be accounted for by the fact that the early rules forbade the admission of any cases—even accidents—after six in winter, and nine in summer; and it appears that the resident apothecary was considered competent to meet such emergencies as might arise. Besides, the more skilled nurses were required during the day to take the orders and fulfil the directions of the physicians and surgeons.

In 1748 the comparative inexperience of the watches was recognized in an order directing that each nurse in turn should sit up with the night nurses, that the matron should appoint a nurse for each floor every night, and that any nurse was expected to sit up on all extraordinary occasions.

After the completion of the building, in 1745, the three rooms under the Board-room were fitted up with six bedsteads for the use of the nurses, but the housemaid was directed “to lie in the kitchen.” The accommodation for the rest of the resident staff and nurses was in the adjoining houses.

Nurses were forbidden to bring any kind of meat or drink

into the hospital ; they were strictly prohibited from receiving any money from patients or visitors ; when they went out they were obliged to leave a ticket with the porter, signed by the apothecary or matron ; and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the hot-bath days, they were not allowed to leave the hospital.

The standard of health among the nursing staff was not good. During 1737 three nurses died in the hospital, and it was not uncommon for them to be sent into the country after illness at the expense of the Board.

Frequent reprimands were administered for infringement of the rule against receiving gratuities from patients, which rule it was found necessary to fix up in each of the wards.

When Thomas Johnson was appointed porter or messenger Porter
November
16, 1733 at one of the early meetings of the Board, a table of rules was drawn up specifying his duties. Although, as the husband of the matron, he was permitted to take his meals with her and the apothecary, he was subordinate to each of them in authority. His principal duties were to attend at the great gate of the hospital from the time it was opened ; to admit no strangers without notifying the matron, who, if they were persons of figure or quality desiring to be shown round the house, would provide a guide for that purpose ; to prevent any meat or drink from being brought into the hospital for (or by) the patients or nurses ; to suffer no in-patient to go out of the house without permission ; to report to the Board if any returned drunk, or at an undue hour ; to forbid any person to go out in hospital clothing ; and to supply the wards with coals before the hospital doors were opened. He was directed to report his absence at any time to the matron ; to keep the key of the dead-house ; and not to give it to any pupil or apprentice without the order of the physicians or surgeons. He was also expected to attend at the door of the Board-room

at all meetings while prayers were being read, and to see that none but Governors found entrance.

As time went on it became necessary to divide the duties, the messenger being principally employed in collecting subscriptions, the porter undertaking the duties connected with the hospital itself.

After Johnson's death it was resolved that for the future the porter should be unmarried, and should be able to write, which presumably Johnson could not do ; and shortly afterwards a staff with a large silver head was provided by Mr. William Kendall, of St. Martin's Lane, to be carried by the porter when on duty at the door of the hospital.

April 19,
1738

This is still carried by him when on duty at the door of the Board-room.

The present staff is of red bamboo, which has been strengthened at some time by two broad silver bands to prevent it from splitting ; and the end is protected by a long plain silver ferrule.

It is surmounted by a silver head, on the top of which is a figure of St. George and the Dragon, standing on a cushion of silver. These are comparatively modern, and of the same date as the two bands above mentioned. The cushion rests on a globular head of silver repoussé work, with leaf and scroll design, and divided in the middle by a raised horizontal band. The tapering neck is plain, but for a floral festoon falling from above, and is encircled with the inscription :

S^T GEORGES HOSPITAL
1733.

The lower portion of the neck is divided by another horizontal raised band, and carries three plate-marks, from which it appears that the old silver head dates from 1726, and is of English manufacture.

In 1739 a porter's gown, of —— colour, was obtained at

a cost of £2 7s. 6d., which gown and staff the porter was directed to use every Board-day.

Somewhat later an assistant porter was engaged, whose multifarious duties were—

To call the patients to the physicians, and to attend the physicians and surgeons at operation.

To carry all messages relating to accidents, consultations, etc.

To prepare the surgeons' dressings, and keep the boxes clean.

To see that the cinders are sifted, and to watch the door while the porter is serving coals, and on every other Sunday.

To keep the cisterns on the top of the house clean.

To help to carry out the dead, and to assist patients to their bath.

To draw the small beer.

To water the road three times a week and as often as the clerk thinks necessary, and to have 6d. a day for his encouragement.

To sleep in the physician's room.

Among the most important of the early by-laws were those regulating the admission and discharge of patients.

Admission
of Patients

1. That no person shall be admitted either as an in- or out-patient without a *note* from a trustee, subscriber, or Governor, specifying the name and address of the patient, and stating that he or she is a proper object of the charity.

November
16, 1733

2. That no person shall be admitted who is suspected of having the small-pox, itch, scald-head, or other infectious disease, or shall be judged incurable ; and if so admitted, shall be discharged as soon as discovered. [It will be noticed that syphilis is not mentioned in this, the only inhibitory by-law

of which trace is found in the Minutes ; and in such case the statement referred to (pp. 71-2), to the effect that venereal cases were excluded by the rules of St. George's, must be inaccurate, unless that disease was embraced by the terms "infectious" or "incurable." The Minutes show that after 1736 if not earlier, persons falling ill of the small-pox while in the hospital were provided with lodging in the houses of certain "nurses," who were selected by the Board. The cost of this was borne by the charity, and appears to have averaged from 3s. a day to 15s. per week. Those who were found after admission to be affected with itch were provided with a lodging out of the hospital at a cost of 1s. per week, and fetched their diet every day.]

3. That no person shall be admitted except upon the examination of one of the physicians or surgeons, on a weekly Board-day, except in case of emergency, when the treasurer secretary, visitors, or, in their absence, the matron, may admit cases of accident properly recommended. [August 21, 1734, a proposal was made that acute cases attended with urgent and violent symptoms should be admitted on intermediate days ; but the matter was referred to a subsequent meeting, and apparently was not mentioned further. October 16, 1734, it was resolved that in case of accidents no person coming to this house with or without recommendation be taken in after six at night in the winter, and nine at night in the summer. This minute was repealed October 17, 1739, in consequence of a servant of the Duke of Grafton, who had broken his leg, being brought to the hospital and refused admission under the order of October 16, 1734. The original orders given to the matron excluded all cases after 9 p.m. in winter, and 10 p.m. in summer, except cases of accident bringing the order of a Governor ; but on October 8, 1735, Serjeant Dickins moved that "some inconvenience might happen on account of acci-

dents in the night, from those orders," and it was decided that one of the surgeons' apprentices should reside in the hospital. But the original order remained in force.]

4. That each in-patient shall give security for burial or removal, or in default deposit 20s., which money, together with that payable on account of soldiers, *or other patients*, shall be collected by the treasurer. [This order was repealed February 6, 1733-4. The first soldier was admitted February 6, 1735-6, as a paying patient under the Royal ordinance alluded to below ; previous to which date they were probably accepted in the ordinary way with the recommendation of a subscriber and without payment.]

5. That no patient on any account shall pay or give any money gratuity, fee, or reward, to any person for any service, in, about, or belonging to, the house, upon pain of expulsion to giver and receiver.

6. That no patient shall be out of the hospital without leave from one of the treasurers or visitors, on pain of expulsion.

7. That all patients shall behave themselves decently in the house, and, if able, shall attend public prayers ; and shall not swear, curse, or use abusive language, quarrel, filch, or drink immoderately, or talk or act immodestly, on pain of expulsion.

8. That all out-patients shall attend punctually at the hours appointed, none being admitted after 10 a.m. ; that any out-patient who shall fail to attend two successive Board-days without leave shall be discharged for irregularity ; and that no patient so discharged shall ever be re-admitted to the hospital upon any recommendation whatever.

9. That no out-patient be absent, nor any in-patient be out of doors, on Saturday, the general visiting day, before 11 a.m., on pain of expulsion ; and that no in-patient be

absent, or go out of doors, on Tuesday before 2 p.m., on pain of being discharged for irregularity.

10. That all patients to be taken into the hospital do first appear before the Board ; and that every Board-day all the out-patients shall be brought into the Court-room and told that they are expected to attend to return thanks when cured, or if they decline to take any further advice or medicine. [June 30, 1736, a form addressed from St. George's Hospital was ordered to be given to each out-patient desiring him, when cured, or wanting no more medicine, to acquaint his physician, and come any Wednesday to the Board to return thanks.]

11. That no person be permitted to bring in any provisions for any of the patients, the provisions of the house being sufficient. [It appears that certain patients had sent out letters begging for food, which practice was prohibited on pain of expulsion.]

February 1,
1733-4

By one of the early by-laws every subscriber or benefactor was allowed the privilege of recommending in- and out-patients, with the proviso that none could have more than one in-patient on the books at a time ; and in March, 1733-4, 4,000 letters of recommendation were printed.

For some reason unrecorded a patient was recommended (July 31, 1734), to Guy's Hospital by Serjeant Dickins for a truss, and six months later it was resolved that none but patients in the hospital should be given trusses or instruments. These were generally paid for out of the Poor-box, each payment being entered in the Minutes.

Want of
Room

In May, 1735, we find the first mention of want of room (the hospital then contained 100 beds, and the new wings were in contemplation), a patient being put back for admission during the following week. Another was promised the first vacancy, and one was recommended to St. Thomas's, but was

eventually received into Guy's, the charge of 7s. 4d. being paid by this charity to the steward of that hospital. Certain of those who could not be admitted for want of room were provided with lodging outside at the expense of the charity, and came daily to the hospital for their food. Some were refused admission on the ground that they could be treated with equal efficiency as out-patients, and others as ineligible to receive the benefits of the charity in consequence of their social position. Thus, although an accident case, the house-keeper of Captain Clinton was not deemed a proper person, she being in good circumstances ; and it was ordered that she should remove herself within a fortnight of the date of her admission. And again, Dr. Hollings, who had recommended the servant of Lord Cowper, was informed that such was contrary to a standing rule of the hospital.

On the other hand, the Bishop of Bristol was informed that a patient, who was entitled to parochial relief in the parish of St. James, had been sent to the hospital by the surgeon of the (workhouse) infirmary, and was only received here—it being contrary to the rules—in consideration of her serious condition, his lordship being asked that the surgeon should be directed by the vestry not to do this again.

Patients were likewise refused, in consequence of incurability, pregnancy, itch, and other infectious diseases under the by-laws. The usual causes of discharge, other than cure or the discovery after admission of one of the above disorders, were cursing and swearing, drunkenness, staying out at night, stealing, fighting, and going out without leave.

One patient, on the other hand, was given a certificate of good character during his stay in the hospital ; another received permission to go into the country for a change, and then return to the hospital ; and a friendless boy was appren-

ticed to the turnery trade after his discharge, at the expense of the charity.

Occasionally patients who were unable to come to the hospital were visited at their own homes by the surgeon in waiting (of the week), apparently to procure his opinion whether these cases were suitable for admission. And on one occasion an out-patient, "a poor sick woman," was allowed broth, or meat, and coals as a special concession.

THE LETTER TO RECOMMEND IN- AND OUT-PATIENTS.

GENTLEMEN,

I recommend the Bearer —— of the Parish of —— for an —— Patient believing h— to be a proper Object of the Charity.

— Day of ——, 173—.

Your humble servant,

TO THE GOVERNORS OF ST. GEORGE'S
HOSPITAL, NEAR HYDE PARK CORNER.

All Contributors are desired to take Notice of the following By-laws :

All Recommendations are ordered to be delivered every Wednesday morning by Nine of the Clock.

When there is not Room for all the Patients recommended at one Time to be received into the House, those are taken in whose Admission the Board is of Opinion will most effectually answer the Ends of the Charity. And the rest, if proper Objects, are admitted Out-Patients till there is Room for them in the House.

Most Consumptive and Asthmatic Cases are more capable of Relief as Out-Patients than in the House.

(*) No person labouring under any infectious Distemper or

deemed incurable, or more likely to receive Benefit as an Out-Patient, is to be received into the House.

Each Governor or Subscriber can have but one In-Patient at a Time because of the Great Number of Subscribers ; but as many Out-Patients will be received as shall be recommended and the Charity able to receive.

No Security is required for the Charges of Burial, in case of Death ; (*) but each Patient is to bring two Shirts or Shifts at least.

[This is the revised letter of recommendation of which 200 copies were ordered to be printed June 29, 1737, containing certain additions (*). *There was an earlier form.*]

Forms were ordered addressed from St. George's Hospital, April 19, 1738 near Hyde Park Corner, intimating that—"By order of the weekly Board now sitting I am to acquaint you that —— recommended by you for an InP. could not be received into the house this day *for want of room* by reason of the number of poor objects offered at the same time in such cases as the Board think themselves obliged to give the preference to in order to answer more effectually the ends of this charity ; but —— is now made an O.P. and attending again the next Wednesday will be admitted into the house then or as soon as there is room. (Signed) T. SMITH, Secretary."

Also other forms as follows : "By the by-laws the following persons are not to be admitted—

- " 1. Persons deemed upon due examination incurable ;
- " 2. Persons in any infectious distemper ;
- " 3. Persons more likely to receive benefit as O.P.'s ;
- " 4. Persons recommended by a subscriber who has a patient at the same time in the house."

And: "By order of the weekly Board now sitting I am to acquaint you that — — recommended by you for an InP. appears improper to be admitted as such *in pursuance of the — by-law above mentioned.* (Signed) T. SMITH. Secretary."

In 1741 the Governors had reason to suspect that some persons procured recommendations who were not proper objects of the charity, in respect of their circumstances; and it being impossible for the weekly Board to examine those applying as out-patients, so as to discover and prevent such imposition and misapplication of the funds, it was proposed that one or more Governors should attend every Wednesday morning at nine o'clock to inquire into the circumstances of those bringing recommendations as out-patients before they were examined by the physician.

About the same time the arrears of subscribers were the subject of discussion, and it was resolved that no contributor who was thirteen months in arrear was entitled to recommend patients; that Governors who were two years in arrear should lose their votes and other privileges; and the treasurer was desired to prepare, every Michaelmas and Lady Day, lists of such subscribers who were two or more years in arrear.

In 1749 it was ordered that no Governor or subscriber could have more than one in-patient at a time in the hospital, and that no subscriber of less than two guineas should recommend more than two in-patients in one year, because of the great number of the subscribers; *but that as many duly recommended out-patients as the charity would bear should be received.*

Charter

The suggestion of a charter of incorporation had been made by the Bishop of Winchester within a month of the opening of the hospital, and was accompanied by a donation of £100 from that prelate towards that purpose. But the

Governors were already confronted with the need of increased accommodation, and the funds at their disposal would not admit of both. The death of the Bishop in the following August was followed by the acceptance of the Presidency by H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales ; shortly after which the idea of a charter was revived, and a petition was prepared for presentation to His Majesty for the incorporation of the charity. This petition is preserved in the Minutes of the hospital ; and although it was never presented, it is important as being the first document in which mention is made of "The Royall Hospitall of St. George," under which name, style, and title, the petitioners desired to be incorporated.

August 10,
1734

September
26, 1734

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCILL,

The humble Petition of several of your Majestyes most Dutifull and Loyall Subjects whose Names are hereunto Subscribed.

First
Petition

Sheweth

That your Petitioners have long Observed the many Poor, Sick, and Lame Objects that daily offer within your Majestyes City of Westminster and the Libertyes thereof, who are wholly destitute of any other Releif than what they receive from Charitable and well disposed persons ; And finding that the Hospitalls already Erected by Royall Charter within your Majestys City of London or elsewhere are not sufficient to Answer the necessityes of such our Miserable fellow Subjects ; And that no such Hospitall has been Erected within your said Majestyes City of Westminster or the Libertyes thereof ; They did therefore Agree to set on foot a subscription for an Hospitall and have taken an House near Hyde Park Corner and made Additionall Buildlings for Entertaining Relieving and Curing such Poor, Sick, and Wounded

Persons as should appear upon due Examination to be Reall Objects of Charity.

That through the Blessing of God this Undertakeing has Mett with uncommon Encouragement and Success. The Subscriptions and Benefactions do Daily encrease. Numbers of Persons (who otherwise in all probability would Perish) are restored to Health and thereby rendered capable by their Work and Labour to gett a Maintenance for themselves And to become Usefull and Serviceable Subjects to your Majesty.

But we humbly apprehend that this Charity will still prove more extensive and effectuall if your Majesty would be graciously pleased to Erect and Settle a Corporation for the receiving and Manageing and disposeing of the Charity of such of your Loveing Subjects as shall be inclined to extend their Charity to the Uses and purposes aforesaid.

Your Petitioners Therefore most humbly Pray Your Majesty graciously to Grant that Your Petitioners may for the future be One Body Politick and Corporate by the Name Style and Title of the Royall Hospitall of St. George in such manner and with and under such powers priviledges Limitations and Restrictions as are mentioned and conteined in the Scheme or Draught hereunto Annexed, Or such other as your Majesty in your great Wisdom shall judge meet.

All which is most humbly submitted, &c.

But as in the first instance the Bishop's suggestion had been laid aside in favour of the increased accommodation then contemplated, so this second proposal was postponed by the decision to procure the freehold of the property previous to making further considerable additions to the building. In the following March (1734-5) these plans were communicated to the Prince President; and as soon as terms had been arranged with the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who

owned the freehold, His Royal Highness was requested to speed the Bill in Parliament, without which the purchase could not be consummated.

And in deference to the opinion of H.R.H. that a charter was necessary besides the Bill, it was decided to draw up a further petition, which was referred to the Lord Chancellor for his consideration :

June 26,
1735

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, QUEEN REGENT
AND GUARDIAN OF THIS KINGDOME IN COUNCELL.

The humble Petition of Edward, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others whose names are hereto subscribed on Behalf of themselves and the rest of the Contributors to the Hospitall near Hyde Park Corner,

Second
Petition

Sheweth

That Your Petitioners on the 20th (*sic*) of October in the Year 1733 formed themselves into a Voluntary Society to erect an Hospitall near Hyde Park Corner for the Entertaining, relieving and Curing such Poor diseased and Wounded persons as should Appear to be reall objects of Charity,

That they met with such Encouragement that on the first of January following they were enabled to take in Patients and from that time to the 26 of December 1734 they have had under their Care 840 persons whom they have relieved and for the most part Cured of their severall Infirmities and by the Contributions they received they might have relieved a much greater number if they had sufficient Room and Conveniences for that purpose,

That the Contributions are still increasing and your Petitioners have great reason to hope that if your Majesty would be Graciously pleased to incorporate them, they would thereby be enabled to render the said Charity much more extensive and effectual.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to Grant that your Petitioners and the rest of the Contributors named in the Scheme or Draught hereto Annexed may for the future be one Body Politick and Corporate by the Name Stile and Title of the Royall Hospitall of St. George in such manner and with and under such power priviledges Limitations and Restrictions as are mentioned or Contained in the said Scheme or Draught or such others as to your Majesty in your great Wisdome shall seem Meet,

And Your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

Charter

January 9,
1735-6

The assistance of Mr. Fazackerly, an eminent counsel, was obtained in the drafting of the charter, no copy of which has come to light; and it was submitted to the consideration of the Lord Chancellor (Talbot), who gave it as his opinion that the word Royal was very improperly used in the style of the hospital; that the contributors or managers of the charity should be incorporated as Governors; that it was by no means proper to have the charter confirmed by Act of Parliament; and that they should not apply to hold any lands whatsoever in mortmain, other than such quantity as was necessary for the site of the hospital. Thereupon it was decided to proceed immediately with the Bill in Parliament, to amend the charter conformably to the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, and, in order to procure the patronage and influence of the great officers of State, they were elected Governors for the time being and their names were inserted in the charter.

Meanwhile the Bill authorizing the conveyance of the freehold to trustees for the contributors to St. George's Hospital was passed, first by the Lords, and then by the Commons; and on May 5, 1736, received the Royal assent, in the presence of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

An ACT to Enable the D. and Chapter of St. PETERS Private Acts,
9 Geo. II,
1736, c. 10 WESTM. to convey a Piece of Ground with 3 Houses thereon at KNIGHTSBRIDGE to a Trustee for the Contributors to St. GEORGES HOSP. & their Successors.

WHEREAS several well disposed Persons in or about the Month of *October* in the Year 1733 did by Volv. Subsⁿ erect an Hosp. near H.P.C. now commonly called & known by the Name of *St. George's Hosp.* for the Entertaining Relieving & Curing all such Poor Diseased & Wounded Persons as should appear to be real Objects of Charity

AND WHEREAS the s^d Subscribers & Contributors to the s^d *St. Georges* Hospital have in order to obtain a Freehold in a proper Site for the s^d Hosp. & thereby make the s^d Charity more extensive & effectual agreed to purchase of the D. & Chapt. of the Collegiate Ch. of *St. Peters* in *Westm.* certain Buildings & Pieces of Ground at *Knightsbridge* in the Co. of *Middlesex*, on some Part of which the said *Hosp.* is now built or in building being Part or Parcel of certain Lands now let by the s^d D. and Chapt. of *Westm.* by Lease to *John Clarke* of *Knightsbridge* Baker for a Term of Years yet to come & unexpired & of which the s^d D. and Chapt. stand seized in Fee :

AND WHEREAS the s^d D. & Chapt. of *Westm.* in order to promote & encourage so Charitable a Design are willing & do consent to alienate to the s^d Contributors or Subscribers to the s^d Hospital or any Person or Persons in Trust for them the Inheritance & Freehold of the s^d Buildings & Piece of Ground & to accept of the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds for their Interest therein : but the s^d D. & C. cannot effectually do so without the Aid and Authority of Parliament.

AND WHEREAS the s^d Subscribers & Contributors have unanimously consented & agreed to constitute & appoint

the Right Hon. *Edward Earl of Oxf^d & Mortimer* their Trustee on their Behalf: *Therefore*,

May it please Your Most Excellent MAJESTY

At the humble Suit of your Majesty's most dutiful & loyal Subjects, the Dean & Chapt. of the Colleg. Church of St. *Peter* in *Westm.*, & the Contribs. & Subscrib. to St. *Georges* Hospital, That it may be ENACTED; AND BE IT ENACTED by the KINGS Most Excellent Majesty, by & with the Advice & Consent of the Lords Spiritual & Temporal, & Commons, in this present Parl^t assembled, & by the Authority of the same, That it shall & may be lawful for the s^d Dean & Chapter of the Colleg. Church of St. *Peter* in *Westm.*, or their Successors, upon Payment of such Sum of Five Hundred Pounds to them, or for their Use, to sell, alien, convey & dispose of all the Inheritance & Freehold of all that Piece or Parcel of Ground, with the Houses & Buildings thereon erected & built, & their Appurtenances, situate, lying, & being at *Knightsbridge* near *H.P.C.*, in the Parish of St. *George, Hanover Sq.*, in the Co. of *Middlesex*, containing in Front from West to East on the North side thereof, one Hundred & fifty Feet eleven Inches, or thereabouts, little more or less; from North to South, in a Bevil to a Bend at the East End thereof, 56 Feet five Inches, or thereabouts; from thence in a small Bend, 31 Feet one Inch, or thereabouts; & from thence Southward, 34 Feet 1 Inch, or thereabouts, little more or less; from East to West on the South Side, to an Elbow or Bend, 139 Feet 2 Inches or thereabouts; & from thence Westward, 56 Ft. 6 Inches, or thereabouts, be the same more or less; & from South to North at the West End thereof, 114 Feet, or thereabouts, little more or less; being Part or Parcel of the Lands let by the said D. & C. of *Westm.* by Lease to the s^d *John Clarke*

of *Knightsbridge*, Baker ; subject to such Lease unto the Right Hon. *Edward Earl of Oxford & Mortimer*, & his Heirs for ever, in Trust for the said Subscribers and Contributors, & the future Subscribers & Contributors to the s^d St *Georges* Hosp. for the time being for ever, or until they shall become Incorporated as one Body Politick or Corporate ; And then in Trust for the s^d Corporatⁿ, & their Successors, to be by him, or his Heirs, conveyed to the s^d Corporation as soon as conveniently may be, after they shall be so Incorporated, or become one Body Politick or Corporate, as aforesaid, & in the meantime to permit the said present & all future Subscribers & Contributors to such Hospital, freely to enjoy & occupy the aforementioned Buildings and Piece of Ground, with full Liberty to pull down any such Buildings or Houses as are at present, or shall hereafter be, erected on the said Piece of Ground, & to erect such new Building or Buildings as shall, to the said Subscribers or Contributors for the time being, or such of them as shall be present at any General Meeting of such Subscribers or Contributors, or the major Part of them then present, seem most convenient for carrying on & promoting the said Charity, & for no other Intent or Purpose whatsoever ; Any Law, Usage, Restraint or Custom notwithstanding : In which Conveyance to the said *Edward Earl of Oxford & Mortimer*, shall nevertheless be reserved to the said Dean & Chapter, & their Successors, the Privilege of the Water-pipe, as it now lies, under Part of the said Estate, with free Liberty to repair the same.

PROVIDED ALWAYS & BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Sum of Five Hundred Pounds so to be paid by the said Contributors & Subscribers to the said St. *George's* Hospital unto the said Dean & Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, in Consideration of the Sale, Alienation & Conveyance of the

above mentioned Piece or Parcel of Ground, with the Houses & Buildings thereon erected, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, be laid out in the Purchase of other Freehold Lands or Tenements, to be settled & limited to the said Dean & Chapter, & their Successors, to the Use, & for the Benefit, of them & their Successors; & in the meantime till such Purchase can be made, that the said Five Hundred Pounds shall be paid into the Hands of *Owen Davis*, Esq.; Receiver, & *Daniel Gell*, Esq.; the Chapter Clerk to the said Dean & Chapter, & shall be by them placed out on Government Securities, in Trust, that the Interest arising therefrom shall be applied from time to time for the Benefit & pursuant to the Direction of the said Dean & Chapter.

SAVING to the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty, his Heirs & Successors, & to all & every other Person & Persons, Bodies Politick & Corporate, his, her & their Heirs, Successors, Executors & Administrators (Other than & except the said Dean & Chapter of the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peter* in *Westminster*, & their Successors) All such Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Claim & Demand of, in, to, or out of the said Messuages, Houses, Buildings & Piece or Pieces of Ground alienated, or permitted to be alienated, by this Act, as they, every or any of them had before the Passing of this Act, or could or might have had or enjoyed, in case this Act had never been made.

The expenses of the Hospital Bill were considerable for, notwithstanding that the Lord Chancellor and Speaker showed their interest in the charity by remitting the fees payable to them upon its passage through both Houses, the fees of the Commons amounted to £31 17s. 10d., and those of the Lords to £46 7s.

Meanwhile the report of the committee which had been appointed to manage the affair of the charter was deferred

from one quarterly Court to another, until, on October 22, 1736, it was decided that the consideration of, and application for, a charter should be adjourned, which adjournment lasted for almost 100 years. But one object had been accomplished, inasmuch as the future tenure of the land and buildings had become vested under the Act in the trustees for the subscribers; and with this settlement they were in a position to enlarge the hospital, until by 1745 the whole had been rebuilt.

In December, 1734, the Committee of By-laws reported that they had drawn up several by-laws, of which the following were read and agreed to by the Board :

By-laws
December
6, 1734

1. That no person shall be qualified to be Governor of this Hospital who pays towards the support of it less than £5 per annum, except such Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, whom His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall be pleased to appoint, and such other persons also excepted who for their good services have been already elected, or by a quarterly or special Board shall hereafter be elected, so that the number of these last elected or to be elected shall not at any one time be more than twenty.

2. That all subsequent Governors of this Hospital shall be chosen by ballot at any quarterly or special Board. But that none be chosen or balloted for in less than one month after he be proposed, such Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, always excepted whom His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, the present President of this Hospital, shall be pleased to appoint, which Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, upon such appointment, shall immediately be deemed and allowed to be Governor or Governors of this Hospital.

3. That when any person be proposed for a Governor of this Hospital, his name shall be wrote and put up in the room where the Governors meet weekly to do business, there to continue to the time of election, and the name of the person

that proposed him shall be entered in the Journal at the same time.

4. That every Governor who shall be two years in arrear shall have no vote or any other power or privilege as Governor.

5. That any gentleman paying at any one time £50 for the use of the Hospital shall be qualified to be a Governor, though he be not an annual subscriber.

6. That no physician or physicians, surgeon or surgeons, treasurer or treasurers, secretary, register, auditor or auditors, taking or receiving any salary, fee, or reward for the same, shall be capable of being a Governor of this Hospital, or shall hold any of those offices longer than they serve them gratis.

7. That there be a weekly Board of Governors, not less than five in number, for the management of the ordinary affairs of the House, and the admitting and discharging patients, every Wednesday at nine in the morning.

8. That the weekly Board, upon the request of any five of the Governors present, shall call a special Board, to consist of not less than twenty-one in number; and that they do give fifteen days' notice thereof at the least in some newspaper; and that summons be also sent to the usual place of abode of each Governor at least three days before such special Board-day, which are to contain the particular business for such Board; and that nothing be determined at any special Board but what is contained in such summons.

9. That every quarterly Board be appointed by the weekly Board to be held within fifteen days after every quarter-day.

10. That in the absence of the President and Vice-President a chairman shall be chosen, and the act of the majority at any Board shall be the act of that Board.

11. That prayers shall be read at the meeting of every

Board before they proceed to do business and after ; and that a servant should attend at each door of the Court-room while prayers are being read.

12. That the chairman do not permit any more than one to speak at once ; and if more should attempt it, the chairman is to determine which is to proceed, and such person is to be fully heard without interruption.

13. That no one speak above twice to any one matter without leave from the chairman at any quarterly or special Board, unless to explain himself upon a misapprehension.

14. That in case any controversy arise concerning any claim or demand, or other matter which relates to any Governor, such Governor shall have no voice ; but being first heard, if he desire to speak to the matter in controversy, he shall withdraw at the time of the debate of such controversy until it be determined by the rest of the Governors.

15. That in case any dispute or difference shall arise upon any question, such question shall be fairly stated, and the same determined by a ballot.

16. That all orders relating to the choosing of Governors or other officers be read before the Board proceed to the election of such Governors or officers.

17. That at every weekly Board they shall proceed in the following manner—viz. : After prayers, and the chairman chosen, they shall read the Minutes of the preceding Board ; next the report of the visitors, and appoint new ones ; and then proceed first to discharge patients, then to receive them ; and all this before any other business ; and no order duly made and confirmed at a weekly Board shall be repealed or altered but by a quarterly or special Board, and these two orders to be first read at every Board.

18. That all officers receiving salary, fee, or reward of this Hospital shall be chosen at a quarterly or special Board ; and

that the porter, nurses, and other inferior servants, be chosen and removed as occasion shall require by any weekly Board.

19. That no by-law shall be binding without the concurrence of two successive Boards, one to be special and one to be quarterly ; and that no by-law shall be repealed or altered but by the like order of two such successive Boards ; and that there shall be at least six weeks between such special and quarterly Board ; and that in the summons to the quarterly Board it be specified to be upon special affairs.

20. That no Governor, officer, or servant do at any time presume, upon pain of expulsion, to take or receive of any tradesman, patient, or other person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, any fee, reward, or gratification, whatsoever for any service done, or to be done, on account of this Hospital.

21. That all matters relating to housekeeping, repairs, and disposal of the annual cash for payment of salaries, wages, and tradesmen's bills, be under the direction of the weekly Board ; but no new building shall be erected, or any other building pulled down, or any of the cash or treasure in the iron chest be disposed of, without the order of a quarterly or special Board, except in case of deficiency of current cash ; in which case they have power to dispose of a £200 bond, provided there be ten Governors at least present at the opening of the chest ; and also that the weekly Board be impowered, when they have £100 and upwards to spare, to invest the same in South Sea or India Bonds, or public, or Government securities.

22. That the President be attended with the accounts of this Hospital as often as they shall be audited, together with the by-laws.

and such other of the Governors who so pleased, should form a committee to review all the patients in the wards on the second Monday in every month at 9 a.m., to fix a period for the continuance in the hospital, or discharge, of their respective patients; one of the treasurers to preside. This was afterwards known as the Review Committee.

At the commencement of the year 1735 a committee was appointed to arrange "a time, place, and manner" for the members of the Society to dine together; and the Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly) was desired to preach before the subscribers on the day appointed. This committee got so far as to decide that the cost of the dinner should be 5s. a head leaving the place of dining to be settled by the Board. But there the matter ended, until twelve years afterwards it was agreed that it would be for the benefit of the charity to have an "annual feast" held by the Governors, and a sermon preached before them, and a committee was formed to consider the arrangements, which committee met at the Somerset Coffee-house in the Strand. But again the scheme fell through, and no further mention occurs during the period in review—*i.e.*, the first twenty years.

Other committees were appointed at various times to inquire into the management of the house, inspect the by-laws, examine the tradesmen's bills, etc.; and the subject of parochial settlements, in regard to patients admitted to the hospital, engaged the early attention of the Board.

At a later period the following clause was framed for the indemnification of the hospital and parish against children who should be born in the house, if it were thought proper to insert it in any Act of Parliament:

"WHEREAS divers hospitals have of late years been erected & are now erecting by several well disposed persons in divers parts of the kingdom for the entertaining relieving

Annual
Dinner

November
6, 1747

Parochial
Settlements
April 17,
1734

February 4,
1736-7

& curing such sick lame & wounded poor persons as appear to be objects of charity AND WHEREAS some difficulties have arisen in that prosecution of that undertaking touching parochial settlements which might be acquired by such poor persons seeking relief in such hospitals to obviate such difficulties BE IT ENACTED, &c. That no poor person or any infant child or children to be born of any such poor person so entertained or seeking relief in any such hospital shall by reason or means thereof acquire any settlement in the parish or place to which such hospital shall belong but that every such poor person shall be & be deemed & taken to be an inhabitant of the parish or place to which such poor person did belong at & immediately before the time he or she went into such hospital & all & every such infant child & children so to be born of any such poor person in any such hospital shall be & be deemed & taken to be an inhabitant of the parish or place of which the parent of each infant child or children was an inhabitant immediately before her going into such hospital anything herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

PART IV.

THE HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL

SOME years later a complaint was received from the parish July 3, 1741 of St. George, Hanover Square, that several persons had become chargeable to the parish after their discharge from the hospital ; and it was ordered that every Governor and subscriber should be desired not to sign a recommendation to any person living ten miles out of London till the patient had first procured a legal certificate of his settlement, which was to be produced, together with the recommendation, to the effect that he or she was settled in their parish. This was henceforth to be printed on the letters of recommendation, and also in the annual accounts. Again, in 1746, a similar complaint was formulated by the parochial authorities ; whereupon the Governors directed that the most effectual care should be taken to remove the patients discharged from the hospital as incurable to the parishes whence they came.

The committee for revising the by-laws made the following April 12, 1750 orders, which were confirmed and ratified by the General Court :

1. That the men patients do not come down for their beer till after the second bell has rung : the assistant porter to draw and deliver to the patients at the cellar-door the beer for dinner : the housemaid to do the same with the beer for supper : and that the assistant porter do attend at the cellar from 12 to 1 daily, and the housemaid from 6 to 7 in the

summer, and from 5 to 6 in the winter ; and that they permit no patient to go into the cellar. This order to be read to the patients in each ward, and a copy fixed to the outside of the door in the hall leading to the cellar.

2. That the nurses inform themselves of the names and addresses of the nearest relations and friends of all the patients that come into the house. This and the previous order to be read to the nurses every Thursday with the other orders usually read to them on those days.

3. It having been represented that the rules and orders forbidding bringing in any victuals or drink from abroad to the patients are not sufficiently observed, and that not only victuals, but also spirituous liquors, are too often introduced into the wards greatly to the prejudice of the patients and to the hazard of their lives, the nurses are strictly ordered to observe more exactly the aforesaid rules, every nurse offending to be immediately discharged.

4. That the matron report any nurse who is guilty of excessive drinking, or who shall connive at bringing in any victuals or strong liquors to the patients.

5. That the physicians and surgeons be desired, when they think proper for any patients to go abroad to take the air, to sign a permit, stating the hours of such absence, to be delivered to the porter ; and that he shall take care that the patients do not transgress the order or bring in any spirituous liquors ; and acquaint all the patients of the orders to be observed by them and him. This order to be hung up at the door of every ward, and the door of the hospital.

6. That the matron shall see that the nurses do make and keep a proper supply of bandages for accidents ; and those for out-patients shall be delivered to the House Surgeon for that purpose only.

7. That the matron do deliver towels or napkins to

the salivating nurse for the use of the physicians and surgeons.

8. That an additional assistant porter should be employed, and that he or the porter should always be at the door to prevent patients from slipping out without permission ; a *hatch* to be provided, to be put up at the door to prevent patients from slipping out unnoticed.

The committee deferred the revision of by-laws, and suggested comparison with those of other hospitals since set up.

That the management of St. George's was regarded as a model for imitation by other institutions is frequently evidenced in the Minutes. In 1736 the Rev. Mr. Bowyer wrote desiring a copy of the by-laws, in order to set up a similar establishment at Bath Wells ; correspondence occurred at the instance of the authorities of the Winchester County Hospital on the subject of the ventilation of St. George's ; and the following letter was thought worthy of transcription in the Minutes :

“ COUNTY INFIRMARY, NORTHAMPTON,
“ *April 25, 1744.*

“ GENTLEMEN,—Our Secretary received the favour of your Society and presented them to the Committee, who are sensible of your civility and generous concern for the prosperity of their charity. We shall never be wanting in a due respect to the Governors of so noble an institution, and are very desirous of an annual correspondence, which we presume will be mutually acceptable.

“ Our Secretary is ordered to desire your favourable reception of our sermon with the rules annexed, and on the publication of our Annual Accounts they will be constantly transmitted to St. George's Hospital, *an institution to which*

the world has peculiar obligations, the credit and increase of which is sincerely wished by our Society in general, and in a very particular manner by

“ Gentlemen, your humble servants,
“ THE COMMITTEE.

“ (Signed) DUNK HALIFAX,
“ *Chairman.*”

Lying-in
Scheme

July 18, 1735

About eighteen months after the opening of the hospital a proposal was made that a portion of the building should be set apart for the relief of poor pregnant women ; and it was suggested that, if the scheme were adopted, they and many of their children might be preserved at a small extra expense. The promotion of the scheme was due to Serjeant Amyand, probably at the suggestion of three ladies : Madam Southwell, who paid £200 towards the support of the proposed lying-in ward (not limiting it to that purpose if the Governors directed otherwise), Lady Betty Germaine, and Miss Ann Bosville, who promised additional subscriptions of ten and five guineas respectively towards the same object. It was eventually decided that when the new wing was completed, the project

February 2, 1735-6 should be put into execution, and the following regulations for its governance were drawn up and agreed upon :

1. That twenty-five women be taken into the hospital when there is room for them.
2. That they be married, or were so when they became pregnant, being the wives or widows of decayed gentlemen, poor tradesmen or labourers.
3. That no one be admitted unless recommended by a lady subscribing five guineas a year at least, and unless bringing a certificate from the minister or two reputable

housekeepers (*i.e.*, householders) of the parish where she resides, that she is an object of charity.

4. That no one be taken in above a month before the time of her delivery; if anyone happens to be there above a month, she is to be discharged unless the men-midwives advise otherwise.

5. That such patients shall bring with them such linen for themselves and infants as is usually wanted in such cases.

6. That an experienced midwife be chosen, and be debarred from all business elsewhere.

7. That a head midwife be elected once at least every three years, or oftener if occasion requires, at which the former midwife may be re-elected.

8. That there be four nurses from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age to assist the head midwife.

9. That these nurses, after three months' probation, shall be bound for three years inclusive apprentices for the service of this hospital.

10. That the nightly watches shall be performed by the four nurses equally in rotation.

11. That the nurses during the third year of service have liberty to "lay" women, by rotation, under the direction of the midwife; and that every nurse-apprentice on the expiration of her third year be discharged.

12. That one or more men-midwives be appointed to have the superintendence of the said ward under the direction of the Board, and that their business be to examine and receive patients in that ward, and to "lay" the women as occasion shall require.

13. That special care be taken that the women received for lying-in be used with all imaginable tenderness and decency, and never made the subject of experiments; and that no man be admitted into the said ward, saving the

physicians and surgeons of this house, and such others as the Board may think proper to direct.

The lying-in scheme fell through, but the proposed regulations are of importance as being the first of which we have cognizance, and as those to which the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital looked for guidance in 1747 when inaugurating their provisions for lying-in women—the first in England outside the workhouse infirmaries. But, contrary to the rules of St. George's, the Middlesex authorities decreed that no woman midwife should be allowed to act as midwife to that hospital; and it appears that at the latter institution there was a physician man-midwife, a surgeon man-midwife, and a physician man-midwife extraordinary.

Current
Events

"1745"

The Minutes contain mention of certain current events important enough to merit transcription. Thus, on November 27, 1745, "the weekly Board, taking into consideration the special circumstances that arise from the present rebellion, whereby the surgeons and their mates are obliged to attend their respective regiments now upon service; it appearing that several of the soldiers labouring under distempers greatly want proper advice: Resolved that, as far as the circumstances of the hospital will admit, these poor soldiers shall be received as accidental and extraordinary patients, fourpence per day being paid for the subsistence of each man, and assurance given for the charges of their funeral in case of death: Agreed that ten men belonging to Lieut.-Genl. Handisids (*sic*) regiment be accordingly received this evening at five o'clock under the examination of the physicians, Major Sawyer having agreed to the above condition."

It would appear that, under a by-law of November 16, 1733, soldiers and certain other patients had been received, with the ordinary letters of recommendation, on payment of

4d. per day, the first such admission being recorded in a Minute of April 16, 1735; but by the above resolution the letter of recommendation was dispensed with. These payments, which became known as "soldiers' groats," were exacted by virtue of a royal command of James I., which is transcribed from the Minutes of St. Thomas's Hospital (June 17, 1686):

Soldiers'
Groats

" His Majesty's gracious order for an allowance to be made to this House of 4 pence per diem out of the pay of each soldier while being a patient of this hospital: the thanks of this house to H.M. for so signal a favour, and an entry to be made of it in the book of orders of this house.

" JAMES R.

" It being necessary that such non-commissioned officers and private soldiers within our pay and entertainment as shall be sick from time to time be sent to the public hospitals for their cure, And for enabling the said hospitals the better to receive them, and the Governors to furnish more beds than otherwise they can do, Our will and pleasure is that, out of the subsistence money appointed for our respective troops and companies, you deduct from time to time 4 pence *per diem* for each sick man that shall be sent to any such public hospital by the direction of the Chirurgeon General of Our forces, during his stay there, according to such certificates as shall be delivered to you by him from time to time; which certificates are to specify the name of each soldier (of) what troop, company or regiment he is, and the time of his being there, And the money so deducted from the subsistence of each man so sent to the said hospital, we do hereby direct to be paid to you the Governors or Treasurers of the respective

hospitals, or whom they shall appoint to receive the same for the purpose aforesaid, etc.

“ Given at Windsor 28 May, 1686, in the second year of Our reign.

“TO THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL,” ETC.

This sum of 4d. *per diem* was then regarded as the equivalent of the actual average cost of victuals provided to each patient, and at St. Bartholomew's remained the same until 1789, when it was raised to 6d., and again in 1821 to 9d. At St. George's, after 1757, payments for soldiers were entered in a separate book, the loss of which deprives us of further information.

February 3, 1747-8 A further Minute records that the Treasurer reported that “he had received from Sir Richard Hoare the sum of £100 for the use of St. George's Hospital near Hyde Park Corner, being the sum given by the subscribers to the subscriptions carried on at Guildhall towards the relief, support and encouragement of the soldiers employed in suppressing the late rebellion : in consideration of the readiness already shown by the Governors of the said hospital in relieving sick, wounded, and maimed soldiers, and to the intent that they should continue the like charitable benevolence to them for the future.”

Gunpowder Magazine in St. James's Park March 17, 1742-3, a report reached the Board concerning a proposal to erect a gunpowder magazine in St. James's Park within a few yards of the hospital ; whereupon a committee was appointed to make application to prevent the erection of a building for that purpose.

April 19, 1749, it was ordered that the following advertisement should be inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* :

“ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL, NEAR HYDE PARK CORNER,
 “*April Y^e 19th, 1749.*

“Whereas it is apprehended that many people will be desirous of seeing the fireworks from St. George's Hospital; This is to inform that there are but 2 wards from which they can be seen, That these are women's wards and that most of the patients in them are in very dangerous disorders.¹ It is therefore hoped that for decency's sake, for the sake of the patients and indeed for their own sake (it not being at all certain that some of these disorders are not catching), it will not be taken amiss that no person whatever can be admitted.”

At the following Board it was resolved that “Col. Burton April 28,
1749 and Thomas Rea Esq. be desired to order a constable to attend this hospital tomorrow to prevent disturbance from the populace; Also that no patient or servant be suffered to go out of the hospital tomorrow and that no strangers be suffered to come in on any account except accidents and that the messenger and the apothecary's men do assist the 2 porters.”

It appears that there may have been a previous display of the same nature, for William Hutton in his Diary (April 8, 1749),² mentions having started to walk to London on that date, taking three days to get there from Nottingham, a similar time to return, and spending three days in the metropolis, during which he viewed “the beautiful building for the fireworks erected in the Green Park to celebrate the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.”

Shortly after the establishment of the Westminster Infirmary, Dr. Alexander Stuart, one of the physicians, pro- Savoy
Hospital,
August 30,
1721

¹ The two wards in the east wing were women's wards.

² *Life of William Hutton.*

cured for the Governors of that institution copies of certain records in the Tower relating to the Savoy Hospital, and was desired to get others, among which was a copy of the will of Henry VIII.

No further mention of the matter appears in the Westminster Minutes ; but July 18, 1735, Mr. Thomas Lowndes made a proposal to the Board to add £900 and upwards per annum to the revenue of the hospital, in return for a sum of 600 guineas and a salary for collecting the above revenue. As showing that the proposal was seriously considered by the Governors, a committee was appointed to treat with him ; and three months later his proposal was reported upon as reasonable, and H.R.H. the Prince President was asked to express his opinion upon it. Upon the latter date a letter was read from a Mr. J. Wilkinson " relating to the Savoy," saying that he could give much further insight into the matter than Mr. Lowndes ; and the committee was directed to receive all proposals upon the subject. But no further mention occurs in the Minutes.

The nature of Messrs. Lowndes and Wilkinson's information remains a mystery ; but it appears that a Mr. William Lowndes, of Winslow, Bucks, held in the reign of Anne the office of Auditor of the Land Revenue, in which the Savoy was vested, with reversion thereof to his nine sons, of whom Thomas Lowndes may have been one.

Change of
Style

On Wednesday, September 1, 1752, a Minute states that "the new stile commenced at this time"; and the next meeting was held on the following Wednesday, September 20, 1752, eleven days having been intercalated. Again, October 4, 1752, the servants' quarterly wages, due at Michaelmas, were paid after "deducting eleven days for y^e change of y^e stile."

Previous to this date the historical year began on

January 1, and ended on December 31; while the legal year commenced with each 26th of March. Thus in the early Minutes, any day between January 1 and March 26 in any year previous to 1753 was dated both ways. For instance, the opening of St. George's was on January 1, 1733-4 (old style), but January 1, 1734 (new style). Lord Chesterfield, in his *Letters to His Son*, gives details of the part he played in the adoption of the Gregorian, in preference to the Julian, calendar, till then in vogue in this country. (Letter CCXLVII.).

The inside appearance of the wards of a hospital about this period is depicted in contemporary prints. We are told that many of the rooms in Lanesborough House were so contrived as if they had been built for the purpose to which they were to be henceforth devoted, and the alterations considered necessary were quite unimportant. In default of an actual illustration, a word-picture, inadequate however it may be, is the only alternative.

Let us step up the grand staircase, and, passing along the gallery with its sanded floor, enter the male ward on the western side of the building. Imagine a room around which stand fifteen 4-post wooden bedsteads, reaching close to the ceiling. Around each bed are curtains hanging from the tester above, and practicable so as to exclude draughts. Under each is seen a box intended to hold the patient's foul linen, and there, too, is the domestic porringer. While the marble mantelpieces tell of departed grandeur—it was the country-house of a fashionable nobleman—the bare boards, the uncurtained windows, and the absence of other furniture, with the exception of a reading-desk (like a church lectern), to which are chained a Bible and other religious books—all these strike a note of sadness, and the unsavoury atmosphere is redolent of foul dressings.

A Hospital
Ward

We will suppose that it is 6.30 on a midsummer morning. The surgeon-in-ordinary, if punctual—which from the Minute-book is not his custom—will be here in half an hour to dress his patients; and at nine o'clock the physician of the week, who attends three times weekly, will visit the ward. Seated in his chair, he will examine and prescribe for each patient, who is able to be moved from his bed, as he is brought before him.

On the mantelshelf stand two candlesticks, the contents of which, burnt down to the sockets, have shed a dim light through the darkest hours. There, too, are seen cupping-glasses, a pewter pallette, and fillet and staff for bleeding; while elsewhere one sees sundry articles, such as pewter bed-pans, copper warming-pans, and an elbow-chair on castors to move the patients about the ward.

The one nurse allotted to the ward is removing the traces of the early morning meal—the broken fast. There one sees the brown earthenware plates and bowls, with wooden spoons for the gruel, as also the tin cups which have held the breakfast small-beer, for as yet neither tea nor coffee has found a place in hospital dietary. On a small three-legged table in the corner are seen a basin, towels, a box of instruments, some bandages and lint, and a chafing-dish and heater for purposes of deodorization.

A glance at the patients shows that, according to the custom of the time, each is wearing a night-cap.

Here is a man who has recently been operated upon for stone by Cheselden, who, together with his rival Douglas, was one of the Governors. Had these two figured in a painting by Hogarth, we should see Cheselden depicted in the act of demonstrating the restoration of sight to a blind boy, while another patient, bound hand and foot, would be seen awaiting an operation for lithotomy; and out of the surgeon's pocket

would obtrude the plan of Fulham Bridge, which he designed. Douglas, on the other side, would be seen holding in "his soft obstetric hands" a volume of Pope, and the first Milanese edition of his favourite Horace. But the wonderful mastery of detail exhibited by Hogarth is not our present theme.

Another patient has had a cataract removed by the eccentric and irascible John Ranby, these two, Cheselden and Ranby, being the only specializing surgeons attached to St. George's. In the next bed lies a patient in the throes of a quartan ague, who has come from the low-lying riverside village of Chelsea. Here, again, is a case of fractured thigh, put up in a fracture-box, and protected from the weight of the bed-clothes by a cradle. The accident, we will suppose, was incurred when the man was engaged in building one of the houses which are being erected in the neighbouring fields, on which the May Fair is held each spring. One patient has a severe scalp-wound, the result of an attack by highwaymen on Knightsbridge Green. Next comes an empty bed, vacated by the death or discharge of the patient; or it may be that he was found to be suffering from small-pox, then very prevalent and extremely fatal, and according to custom has been removed to some outside dwelling at the expense of the charity. And lastly is seen a patient with extensive ulceration of the leg, who is smelling a small bunch of flowers, which have been ordered by the surgeon "to mitigate the stench of his wounds."

There they lie together, medical and surgical cases side by side; the only distinction is sex.

The wooden four-post tester bedsteads, about fifteen in number in each ward, were provided with curtains to keep out the draught, and had mattresses of straw, or flock, covered with ticking.

Beds and Bedding

The bedding consisted of long-cloth sheets, blankets, pillow bier, and coverlid. Under each bed was a box to

contain the patient's foul linen, and as late as 1788 similar boxes (or drawers) appear to have been in use at Guy's, which Howard describes as sliding under each patient's bedstead, making a seat when drawn out. A later entry directs the nurses to examine the patient's *drawers* every morning, and carry down the remainder of the preceding day's allowance (of food) to the matron.

It was ordered that a limited number of beds should be provided with straps and handcuffs, "for use in the same manner as at the Westminster Infirmary," the cost of each set being 13s. These were probably used for operations (especially those of cutting for stone), which, until the provision of an operating theatre in 1745, were performed in the wards or the surgery.

In 1746 some bedsteads were ordered to be altered according to a plan suggested by William Bromfield, but the nature of the improvement does not appear.

For the first time in 1737 an order appears upon the Minutes that Mr. Thompson, the bedstead maker, should clear all the beds which were infested with bugs; that the patients, who were able, as well as the nurses, should assist the person employed; and that this should be done in future, twice in every year, about April and August. The cost of this, for the year in question, appears to have been £21 16s.

Sharp, in his *Letters from Italy*, published in 1766, remarks that he had seen in the hospital at Florence an iron-framed bedstead *made to exclude bugs*, and adds that attempts to make similar ones in England had failed.

"In the hospitals at London," he says, "bugs are frequently a greater evil to the patient than the malady for which he seeks a hospital, and could I have interest enough with the Governors to bring about an imitation of this frame, I should be exceedingly rejoiced in the comfort it would

afford to so many thousands of miserable wretches that are tormented, sometimes even to death, by these nauseous vermin."

It is stated upon the authority of Sir William Gull that, as late as 1797, £40 a year was paid to a bug-catcher by the authorities of Guy's Hospital.¹

At first the floors of the wards were washed, but within a few months orders were issued that they should be dry-rubbed and swept daily, evidently with the idea of avoiding damp, the nurses being strictly forbidden to carry any wet linen into the wards. There was a distinct prohibition against sanding the floors of the wards, though the passages, stair-cases, and that part of the King's Ward which was used as a chapel, were exempted from this order; and we find that the yearly account for sand averaged £7, and that (October 18, 1738) Nurse Fyson was paid her account, £1 12s. 11d., for sand used in King's Ward, at 1d. per day.

Cleaning
November
13, 1734

Henceforward entries of payments for bees-wax occur in the Minutes, and in 1737 an order appears that the nurses should dry-mop the floors with warm water, or dry-rub them with hard brushes. In 1750 a hogshead of vinegar was ordered, and the Board gave instructions, probably in consequence of some epidemic of infectious disease, that all the wards should be sprinkled, and the two "little" wards washed therewith. But long before that date it had been customary to use deodorants, and a Minute records the provision of five chafing-dishes and ten heaters for use in the wards.

Disinfection
December
18, 1751

Each ward was warmed by a coal fire, a large tub (?) about a sack) being allowed daily in the winter months, and half that amount in the summer. No mention of wood appears in the Minutes, and at that time wood was very expensive, and

¹ Wilks and Bettany, *Biographical History of Guy's Hospital*, p. 123.

used by none except the wealthy in their living-rooms, and by bakers in the way of their trade.

Early each morning a bell was rung, upon which it was the duty of the nurses to bring down their tubs, which were filled and taken up to the wards by the porter.

Coals were then sold, like bread, under the assize, the price averaging about 26s. a chaldron "in the poole"; but the expenses of lighterage, 18d., cartage, 15d., trimming, 2d., and wharfage, 3d., added another 3s. 2d. to the price of each chaldron. Entries in the Minutes make mention of Tanfield and Pontoff (? Pontop) coals, showing that the supply came from the Durham collieries, and was sea-borne.

Lighting

At first the only artificial light was obtained by candles, and among the early orders of the Board was one for the provision of four dozen rushlights and two dozen small cotton-lights. The former were in common use until the last few decades, and may still be seen in the Fen country; while the latter, known as "dips," are largely used to-day by the agricultural labourer. As time went on, a frequent item in the accounts was payment for "ten dozen candles," averaging in price from 4s. to 4s. 6d. "a dozen." It is probable that these were wax candles, each weighing 1 pound, and each costing from 4d. to 4½d.¹

For we read in *A Physical Vade Mecum*, by Theophilus Philanthropos, 1741, that two candles were allowed each night per ward at St. Thomas's Hospital during the summer, and three during the winter months. And considering the length of a winter night in any hospital, these candles must have been of some slow-burning material, and of large size.

¹ But see Sir William Church's paper, *Our Hospital Pharmacopœia* (St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, xx., p. 293).

The fact that the candles used at Bart.'s were obtained from the tallow-chandler's is not decisive that they were not made of wax.

Each nurse was provided with a copper lamp, probably for carrying round the ward, and tinder-boxes were ordered. In 1739, however, candles were forbidden to be used, except when nurses were sitting up in the wards. A yearly item of expenditure was a payment to the lamplighter for lighting the four outside lamps—*i.e.*, two over the front door, and one at each end of the building facing the road, these lamps being contained in standards fixed to the front of the hospital.

The Westminster Fire Office, which still exists, was founded in 1717, and had its quarters at Tom's Coffee-house, in St. Martin's Lane, where also the various committees met in the early days. It was a mutual society, composed of persons who agreed to insure one another's houses against loss by fire by an amicable contribution. On signing the deed of settlement, each member was admitted into joint contribution, and became an equal sharer in profit or loss in proportion to the amount for which he was insured. The deposit on stone or brick houses was 10s. per cent., and double that amount on those of timber; with a premium of 2s. 6d. per cent. on the former, and 5s. per cent on the latter, for any sum up to £1,500; and for sums from £1,500 to £2,000, of 4s. per cent. on the former, and 8s. on the latter. No sum exceeding £2,000 was insured on any building without the approbation of a general Court; and, to prevent imposition, only three-quarters of the total value of the property was insured. At the termination of seven years—all the policies appear to have been septennial—the deposit money was returnable, the premiums being used to pay the office expenses, and the surplus for payment of dividend.

The Westminster contributors kept eighteen firemen for

Fire
Insurance

extinguishing fires upon the properties insured in their office, they being provided with jackets and badges, and paid handsomely for their labour. There were no public fire-engines then, and it was to aid the recognition of the office in which each building was insured that fire-plates, which one still occasionally sees in this country, and very frequently in Italy, were fixed upon the fronts of the houses.

When Lanesborough House was taken on lease by Dr. Stuart and others as trustees, the existent policy of insurance for £1,575 in the Westminster Office was probably handed over to the new tenants; and at the beginning of the next year the goods and furniture were insured in the Sun Fire Office for £1,000, which policy was renewed annually at a premium of 2s. per cent. The Sun was founded in 1706, was the first company accepting risks upon household goods as well as buildings, and was exceptional, insomuch as it did not confine itself to business within the Bills of Mortality.

As each addition was made to the hospital building it was insured in the Westminster Office, each of the northern wings for £650, and each of the southern for £850, so that each completed wing was insured for £1,500. When the body, or central block, corresponding with Lanesborough House, was rebuilt in 1744, its southern front was considerably enlarged, and the old policy for £1,500 was increased to £2,000, making, with the two wings, a total sum of £5,000. During the first twenty years of the hospital's existence no claim appears to have been made upon either company, and indeed no mention of any loss appears, except that, May 27, 1752, a nurse was discharged for having by her neglect occasioned a fire in the bathroom.

But in addition to the assistance provided by the companies, the Governors, a month after the hospital was opened,

ordered "leather gutts or pipes, with proper brass tubes, for extinguishing fire in case of any accident." These were supplied by a Mr. Collishaw at a cost of £6 5s. Six months later a fire-engine was ordered, but, before the purchase was completed, Mrs. Sarah Dennis, a subsequent legatrix to the institution, presented an engine, and a contract was entered into whereby, for an annual payment of £1 10s., the engine and pipes were to be kept in repair, and to be "played" four times a year. These leather pipes were ordered to be kept oiled; two fire-plugs were laid in front of the hospital, and thirty leather buckets were presented to the Governors.

June 5, 1734

June 19,
1734

The water-supply of the hospital was derived from the Chelsea Waterworks Company, incorporated in 1722, the "water-rent" being at first fixed at £8 per annum. But as early as the preceding February experiments had been made with the object of "raising water," presumably from a well upon the premises. These, however, appear to have been unsuccessful, and the company continued to supply water at the above rent, until, in 1738, the Directors gave notice that they intended to raise it from £8 to £25 per annum. Remonstrance proved futile, but a better supply in case of fire was conceded. At times, however, complaints of deficiency appear in the Minutes, and other items include the payment of Christmas-boxes to the watermen and turncocks.

Water-
SupplyJuly 17,
1734

The year 1740 was ushered in by the Great Frost, of which passing mention is made in the Minutes, by a vote of thanks to General Churchill "for allowing the servants of the hospital to fetch water from Hyde Park in the hard frost"; and another to Mr. Rea (the proprietor of the Knightsbridge Brewery) "for supplying a cart, horse, and men to fetch water in the time of the hard frost."

The Great
Frost of
1740

A contemporary account of this Great Frost is recorded in *The Life of William Hutton*. Living in Nottingham, he

says that on New Year's Day (January 1, 1739-40), 3 inches of snow fell, and though there was no further fall, he saw some of that snow remaining in March. The commencement of the frost was most severe, and he declared that those in his experience—up to 1798—were nothing like it in severity. It was said that the breath of some was frozen on the bed-clothes. No thaw occurred, the snow remaining until the spring gradually wore it away. It is noteworthy that the hospital burials were very numerous in February of that year.

Drainage
October 19,
1733

When reporting upon the condition and suitability of Lanesborough House for use as a hospital, Isaac Ware, the architect, reserved the question of drainage, saying that there was a dead well which he thought would take off the soil or waste water if cleaned out every seven years; and the next month a new drain was ordered to be continued from the old one, "about 4 yards below the conduit in the ditch." This was probably the overflow from the dead well above mentioned. Nothing more is heard of drainage until, two years later, the ditch along the roadside (westwards) to Huggitt's, the milkman who lived in the cottage depicted in Wilson's picture, was ordered to be scoured to serve as a drain.

April 7, 1738, a committee on drainage reported that they had waited on Sir Robert Grosvenor relative to the use of his ground to make a drain and a proper place to receive the soil; experiments were ordered to be made to see whether water and soil could be carried off by such a drain at an outlay of £20, and a plan was made for getting rid of the water from the cold bath.

The above scheme was evidently laid aside, for the committee estimated the cost of carrying a new drain to the river at £600, and had devised an alternative plan which would cost only half that sum.

August 2,
1738

Shortly afterwards the nature of this scheme is explained

by an answer from the Earl of Essex, that His Majesty had no objection to a drain from the hospital being carried through St. James's Park; and a petition was sent to the Lords of the Treasury, who eventually issued an order to the Board of Works permitting the hospital drain to be carried into the King's drain in that park. The estimated cost of this was £300.

June 27,
1739

In 1747 a bricklayer's account, £48 19s. 6d., was paid April 1,
1747 "for the new drain in the Park," probably referring to some alteration or improvement in the original scheme.

As has been mentioned, one of the first orders of the Ventilation committee to fit up and furnish Lanesborough House was that the upper sashes of the windows in both storeys should be made to slide as well as the lower ones. These storeys represented the upper floors, for in that meaning the term was then used, explaining why in some works Lanesborough House has hitherto been described as consisting of two storeys. In modern parlance a storey means a floor, whether lower or upper, and thus the correct description to-day of Lanesborough House would be three storeys. Doubtless this order of the committee was for purposes of ventilation, the lower sashes being provided with proper fastenings, probably to prevent food, etc., being introduced into the building, and to obviate the windows being used as means of exit and entrance.

Later, the lower sashes of the windows in all the wards were ordered to be nailed down for the same purposes, and sixty-four locks were provided for the windows of the wards.

June 23, 1736, it was reported that the lower sashes of the windows nailed down had been broken open, and any employé doing so henceforth was ordered to be suspended.

After this we read of broken windows, and the frequency of the occurrence suggests that this was resorted to in conse-

quence of their being nailed down; while the apothecary, matron, and servants were enjoined to keep account of those broken, and by whom they had been broken, and in default of their reporting to the Board they were to pay for the mending.

August 14,
1734

The ventilation of the wards engaged the attention of the Board at an early date, and matters were made worse by the smoking of the chimneys, which was the subject of numerous reports. In response to these requirements, the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers produced the model of an engine, "contrived" by himself, for extracting foul, and supplying fresh, air to the wards; and he was desired to provide one of these, ten guineas being advanced to him towards the expense. The system was not successful, and eight months later he was requested to remove it, the £10 10s. advance being "remitted."

February 15,
1743-4

Nothing further appears to have been done until, in 1744, it was decided, upon the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Stephen Hales, to fix ventilators in certain wards, which would ventilate them alternately, by conveying a quantity of air equal to each ward in fifteen minutes. This system was in use at the Winchester Hospital, and experience having taught that the air was rendered sweeter and fresher without any danger from cold, a pair of these ventilators was fixed in King's Ward at a cost of £16. They were placed under the care of the clerk, with instructions that the ward was to be ventilated in the early morning, and again before sunset, and at such other times as might be thought proper.

October 3,
1744

In 1753 a committee was appointed to inquire into an improved method of ventilation by means of a windmill, the Rev. Dr. Hales giving his advice, and it was decided that some of these ventilators should be fixed.

April 6,
1753

Directions for working them were issued July 17, 1754, as follows :

“First, It will be very expedient to set the mill to work in the morning when the patients are dressing themselves, or when they are supposed to be just dressed ; and to continue an hour in the summer, and all day in the winter, or at such seasons when the sashes must not be opened. No care nor trouble is left with anybody to adjust the apertures of the pipes in the several wards, which are now prepared for ventilation ; that being done by the advice of the Rev. Dr. Hales.

“Secondly, Some care should be taken to stop the mill if a storm arise ; and if an order of the Hon. Board of Gov^{nrs} will avail so much as to incline the servants who are entrusted with the care of the mill to clothe the mill in the morning, and unclothe it in the evening, it will be a means to prevent accidents in the work, and the said clothes to last much longer than if they are exposed to the strength of the wind in the night season. This must be done in the months of November and March, and other winter months that are subject to strong winds.

“Thirdly, A very small trouble will be required, once in a month, to oil and grease with hog's lard the moveable parts of the machine without-doors ; and once a quarter within-doors.

“N.B.—If any unforeseen accident should possibly happen to any part of the windmill or ventilators, it will be expeditiously repaired by Mr. Richard Lewis, an engineer at Bow Bridge, Essex.” (See end of Minute-book, 6.)

The first mention of a window-tax is met with in a payment of 8s. 6d. for the next house (September 14, 1748), due at the preceding Lady Day ; a similar rent being paid for the year 1748 ; and, September 27, 1752, a distress was levied by the Sheriff of Middlesex, by process from the Exchequer Court, for 16s., “on account of window-lights.” Two months

Window
Tax

later the collector of the window-tax for St. George's, Hanover Square, demanded £8 5s. for the same on the hospital ; but the Board decided to appeal to the Commissioners for relief, on the ground that it was not usual to charge Houses of Charity in that respect. No payment appears in the Minutes, so that in all probability the appeal was successful.

Bathing

May 29,
1734

June 5,
1734

June 26,
1734

January 31,
1738-9

April 1, 1737

June 18,
1736

June 29,
1743

July 13,
1743

Although a committee had been busy furnishing and fitting up Lanesborough House for the reception of patients, two months passed by before any mention is made of the provision of a bath ; but February 27, 1733-4, Dr. Desaguliers,¹ Dr. Arbuthnot, Serjeant-Surgeons Dickins and Amyand, and Mr. Isaac Ware, were desired to consider the cost of a dry pump, and a warm and cold bath ; and in May Dr. Desaguliers' proposal was agreed upon at a cost of £30. Thereupon a bath, pump, etc., were fixed in the wash-house, and the stable was utilized for the cold bath and dead-house, this cold bath being made in the floor, and finished with "terras" (cement). Somewhat later we find that a strong pulley was fixed for the use of lame patients using the cold bath.

In April, 1737, the dead-house was still used for the cold bath ; while the hot bath, in a separate building, was ordered to be prepared for the patients on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings at five o'clock.

In 1743 it was resolved that no one, except the patients, should make use of the hot pump, hot or cold bath, or other utensil belonging to the hospital, without the permission of the weekly Board ; and that such leave was only to be

¹ This was the Rev. John Theophilus Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., who was distinguished as a mathematician and natural philosopher. He has been supposed by some to be the preacher in Hogarth's "Sleeping Congregation," and was chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales. His system of ventilation is mentioned on a previous page.

granted upon the request of a Governor, or subscriber of £5 per annum.

On that date Mr. Christopher Gately, of King Street, St. James's, was given the use of "the hot pump" for one month, upon the request of Dr. Hody; and the following January a similar concession was made to Charles Eaton, upon the request of Mr. David Middleton. The next year the hot bath was reported to be in a ruinous condition, and was ordered to be repaired.

It appears that the accommodation provided was not equal to the requirements of the hospital, for on June 26, 1734, it was reported by Dr. Ross (who lived in Leicester Fields) that he had spoken to the master of The Bagnio at Charing Cross, who agreed to admit the patients of the hospital to his cold bath at 1s. a time, such patients bringing a note from the house apothecary. The following November Mr. —— was paid his account for bathing (£1 16s.). This was probably Mr. Ebeall, whose widow advertised in 1741 that she had moved from "the Charing Cross Coffee-house, at the corner of Spring Gardens, leading to the Park," and that she was then keeping the Bell Tavern, or New Crown Bagnio, at the bottom of St. Martin's Lane, near the church, at which were provided bathing, sweating, and cupping, at the lowest prices; also good attendance and neat wines, etc.¹

This appears to be the only payment made for bathing, and probably by that date the bath, made in the floor and finished with cement, was found to be sufficient for the requirements of the patients, for then, as now, cold bathing was not in special favour with the poorer classes.

Sir John Floyer, in his *History of Cold Bathing*, which he dedicated to the Royal College of Physicians, in the expressed

¹ *Daily Advertiser*, November 7, 1741, quoted by Macmichael, *Story of Charing Cross*, 1906, p. 68.

hope that it would secure their approbation, and thus contribute to the revival of immersion, sacred and medicinal, tells that, although an old custom in England, it had fallen into disuse during the seventeenth century. This he accounts for in consequence of—

1. The ignorance of the public in matters of physic, and their acceptation of general ideas and opinions (then) recently changed by the chemical doctors, who recommended new methods and medicines, contrary to Galenical principles.
2. Change of religious opinion, whereby the use of water from holy wells dedicated to the saints was repudiated, and baptismal immersion discontinued in favour of dipping or sprinkling, as directed in the catechism of James I.
3. The acceptation by parents of the idea that both danger and immodesty existed in baptismal immersion, and inferentially in cold bathing.
4. The rise of foreign trade leading to the introduction of the hot regimen, the use of which (tobacco, tea, coffee, wines, spirits, and spices), with hot baths have produced in this cold climate “pleurisies (which are a species of rheumatisms), unknown to physicians in the time of Henry VII., but now, together with rickets and rheumatisms, very frequent.”¹

These particulars are taken from the fifth edition of Floyer's work, published in 1722 (the first edition appeared in 1702), but an earlier tract by Samuel Haworth, M.D., entitled *A Description of the Duke's Bagnio and Bath*, 1683, gives further interesting information.

The author further tells us that previous to 1679 no bagnio was existent in England, and that about that date Sir William Jennings procured His Majesty's patent for making

¹ And see *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1734, a letter alluded to by Johnson as “Floyer's loose-piece which is worth preserving.”

all public bagnios and baths, either for sweating, bathing, washing, etc. Of these the Duke's Bagnio stood in Salisbury Stables, Long Acre, behind the house of the proprietor, and answered to the following description : “ Entering the hall where the porter stands to take the money, you pass into a room furnished with a pair of scales, and thence into the dressing-room, with private boxes on each side, the middle walk of which is paved with black and white marble. This room is moderately warm. Thence you pass into the bagnio, over which is a cupola supported by eight stone pillars, within which you walk. This is paved with marble, the sides lined with white gally tiles, and in the walls are ten seats, as in the baths at Bath, and niches holding marble basins for washing. On one side hangs a very handsome pendulum clock to tell exactly how the time passes. Adjoining are four little round rooms, each about 8 feet in size, of various temperatures ; and in each is a leaden ‘cistern or bath,’ 2 feet \times 6 feet \times 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The visitor is received by the barbers in the dressing-room, and later a rubber brings him wooden clogs in exchange for slippers ; he may then lounge, or walk, or take a bottle of ‘diaphoretic liquor.’ After about an hour his rubber dry-rubs him, then washes him with warm water, and then rubs him with a hair-chamlet glove. Then, having filled a cistern (bath), the patient lies in it, the water being made gradually colder, etc.”

Four days a week were allotted for men, and two for women.

The bath was in a separate apartment. It measured 10 feet long, 7 feet broad, and 5 feet deep, and the water was impregnated with salts. One day in each week a special bath was prepared for children with rickets.

The author, in eulogy of baths and bathing for the treatment of disease, enumerates those for which it was then considered specially beneficial. He recommends them for the

palsy, "which hardly admits of relief from any other method"; for gout and rheumatism, scurvy, rickets, dropsy, fits of stone, and gravel, and women's distempers. With reference to scurvy, he says that the term had grown so general in physic, that "some practitioners, whatever symptoms their patients labour under, when they are any way doubtful of the distemper, immediately call it the scurvy." The symptoms then generally recognized as pointing to that disease were swelled gums, loose teeth, ulcers of the mouth, weakness and lassitude of the limbs, pains in the joints, spots, itching, and pallor. Hence we find, among the descriptions of cases entered in the Minutes from January 1, 1733-4 to July 16, 1735, such diagnoses as scorbutic palsy, scorbutic eruptions, scorbutic pains, scorbutic rheumatism, hereditary scurvy, and scorbutic tumours.

Diet
December,
21, 1733.

Just before the opening of the hospital, regulations as to diet were issued by the committee appointed to draw up by-laws. Only one table was formulated, this being altered at the discretion of the physician, in accordance with the requirements of the case. The quantities approximate closely with the full diet of the later tables, but particulars of the servants' diet are included, which, being absent from the later tables, may be assumed to have remained unaltered.

Each servant was to have 14 ounces of bread daily, with 4 ounces of cheese, or 2 ounces of butter, for breakfast and supper; and 1 pound of beef or mutton, with twopennyworth of roots or herbs (among them) for dinner.

October 9,
1734

Early in the following month tickets were ordered bearing the names of the physicians and surgeons (fifty of each); and when the later tables were issued, others with the words *low*, *milk*, or *full*, diet were ordered, one of which was directed to be fixed to the bedstead of each patient, according to the

prescription of the physician.¹ The comparative expectation of use of these three grades of diet may be gauged by the number of tickets printed—viz., 300 low diet, 300 milk diet, and 800 full diet; and that the estimate was fairly correct may be assumed from the repetition of the same quantities of each variety when a fresh supply became necessary.

The early diet-tables were evidently copied from those in use at St. Thomas's Hospital. They compare favourably with those of St. Bartholomew's and Westminster; but the small allowance of vegetables is noteworthy, although in excess of the amount provided at these other establishments.

FULL DIET.

Breakfast:

Monday,	1 pint of milk pottage. ²	December 21, 1733, and October 9, 1734
Tuesday,	"	
Wednesday,	" or broth.	
Thursday,	" "	
Friday,	" "	
Saturday,	" "	
Sunday,	" "	

Dinner:

Monday,	1 pint of pease pottage ³ and 4 ounces of pudding.
Tuesday,	8 ounces of boiled mutton.
Wednesday,	1 pint of plumb pottage ³ and 4 ounces of pudding.
Thursday,	8 ounces of boiled beef.
Friday,	1 pint of pease pottage ³ and 4 ounces of pudding.

¹ In 1821 the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital adopted a printed diet-card, to be placed at the head of each patient's bed, "in the same manner as is adopted at St. George's Hospital" (*Wilson*, p. 85).

² In the earliest table this was "water-gruel."

³ June 18, 1735, altered to "barley-broth."

Saturday, 8 ounces of boiled mutton.

Sunday, 8 ounces of boiled beef.

Supper:

Monday, 2 ounces of cheese or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of butter.

Tuesday, 1 pint of broth.

Wednesday, 1 pint of milk pottage.

Thursday, 1 pint of broth.

Friday, 2 ounces of cheese or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of butter.

Saturday, 1 pint of broth.

Sunday, 1 pint of broth.

Daily, 14 ounces of bread, 1 quart of small beer from October 1 to May, and 3 pints of small beer from May 1 to October.

In the earliest diet-table, supper consisted of 4 ounces of cheese, or 2 ounces of butter (or half the amount of both), to each patient on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, together with a pint of broth. To make this latter, a leg of beef, price 1s., was to be added to every 15 pounds of the meat boiled, so as to make 30 quarts of broth (there was an expectation of thirty patients to be provided for), with two penny-worth of turnips and pot-herbs. The broken meat from the previous day was to be added to the broth, and the surplus bread was to be used for puddings. Loaves were to be baked weighing 14 ounces each, that being the daily allowance for each patient and servant.

LOW DIET.

Breakfast, daily, 1 pint of water-gruel or milk pottage.

Supper, daily, 1 pint of water-gruel or milk pottage, except on Mondays and Fridays, when, if they choose, they may have 2 ounces of cheese, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of butter.

Dinner:

Monday, 1 pint of plumb pottage and 4 ounces of pudding.

Tuesday, 2 ounces of boiled mutton and 1 pint of broth.

Wednesday, 1 pint of plumb pottage and 4 ounces of
pudding.

Thursday, 2 ounces of boiled mutton and 1 pint of broth.

Friday, 1 pint of plumb pottage and 4 ounces of pudding.

Saturday, 2 ounces of boiled mutton and 1 pint of broth.

Sunday, 2 ounces of boiled mutton and 1 pint of broth.

Daily, the full allowance of bread and beer, if they require the same.

MILK DIET.

Breakfast, 1 pint of water-gruel or milk pottage.

Supper, 1 pint of water-gruel or milk pottage.

Dinner:

Monday	1 pint of plumb pottage and 4 ounces of pudding.
Wednesday	
Friday	
Tuesday	1 pint of rice milk.
Thursday	
Saturday	
Sunday	

Daily, 3 pints of milk and water—1 in 3, and 14 ounces of bread.

In the *Modern Practice of the London Hospitals*—viz., St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, St. George's, and Guy's—published in 1764, the diet is, with a few minor exceptions, the same as above. But there is a noticeable addition of “greens” on all the meat days in each diet, full or special. There were also a Fish Diet, in which fish was provided, *if it could be had*, on three days in the week; a Dry Diet, which

consisted solely of butter or cheese for breakfast and supper, and low diet (as above, without broth or rice) for dinner, with milk on three days a week, and bread and beer, as in low diet ; a Raisin Diet, consisting of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of raisins daily, with as much bread as they could eat, 1 quart of Dec. Guiac. fort., and as much Dec. Guiac. tenue as they could drink ; and a Salivating Diet, which allowed to each patient 1 quart of milk, and the broth derived from $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of mutton daily. These patients had no solid food, but plenty of warm beer—1 pint an hour during the day, and $\frac{1}{2}$ pint an hour during the night ; plentiful drinking and avoidance of cold being considered highly expedient in procuring a good flux and cure.

1733-4

It appears that breakfast was served at 8 a.m., and supper at 6 p.m. ; that the dinner-hour for patients was at twelve noon in the summer months, and one o'clock in the winter ; and that the nurses dined in the kitchen one hour later.

In 1736 orders were issued that the diet-tables should be framed and hung up in certain of the wards ; and later they were written, together with some of the by-laws, on pasteboard, and hung up in each ward.

It is probable that the able-bodied patients fetched the food for their respective wards from the kitchens, for we find an order that the women's wards should be served first with the food and drink, and the men's wards afterwards, "so that men and women should not be together at one time in any of the offices."

From the first the matron had to account for all the provisions brought into the house, and to see that there was no waste or theft. There had been an idea of appointing a steward to superintend the stores, and John Ware, a pastry-cook in the Strand (perhaps a relation of Isaac Ware, the architect), had applied to the Board to serve the hospital in

that capacity ; but the suggestion was put aside till occasion should arise. An oft-repeated order of the Board was to the effect that no meat or drink of any kind should be brought into the hospital for nurses or patients, "the provisions of the house being sufficient"; and it appears from a Minute (July 30, 1735) that certain of the patients had sent out letters begging for food, in consequence of which this practice was prohibited under pain of expulsion.

Upon this date occurs the first mention of the use of tea, when it was ordered that no tea should be allowed to be drunk in any of the wards after 9 a.m., which order was to be written up in the wards, as also a further order prohibiting any provisions being sent out of the hospital. [But no tea was provided in the hospital dietary.]

A few months afterwards a committee of inquiry reported that patients ought to be prohibited from tea-drinking for the future, and in the following year the same committee reported that the orders against tea-drinking in the wards had not been observed, and ought to be enforced, and that several persons smoked in the wards. They suggested that no one should drink tea or smoke in the house without written leave of the physicians. Later it was ordered that no smoking be permitted in any of the wards (September 10, 1740).

The same committee reported that the order against bringing provisions into the house should be enforced without exception, and that anything ordered by the physicians and surgeons under extraordinary circumstances should be provided by the apothecary and matron, and *dressed in the common kitchen*, and an account of such laid before each weekly Board.

The first regulations upon diet directed that each patient should have a quart of small beer daily during the winter months, and 3 pints during the summer ; but no mention is made of an allowance to the servants. This small beer was

February 23, 1736-7

April 22, 1737

February 10, 1737-8

February 9, 1738-9

December
21, 1733

supplied, at a charge of 5s. a barrel, by Mr. Thomas Rea, a brewer of Knightsbridge, who was a Governor of the hospital. About two years later ale, in addition to small beer, was provided for the patients, but this was placed in the custody of the matron, to be given out by her only, upon the instructions of the physicians and surgeons; and an order

October 29,
1735

was issued that no ale or strong liquor whatever should be brought into any of the wards; the master of the Red Lyon, an adjoining alehouse, being reprimanded for contravening the by-laws of the hospital to that effect.

The evil habit of gin-drinking is commented upon in the view of London life in 1731 (see p. 54), and, in spite of the second Gin Act of 1736, the consumption of that spirit continued to increase. It is a striking proof of the generality of the habit that the Minutes of the hospital should record an order directing "that if any person or persons whatever be detected selling gin, or any other spirituous liquor, to any servant or patient belonging to the house, they shall be prosecuted as the law directs at the expense of the Board."

December
10, 1740

Among the rules issued for the matron was one to the effect that "no gin or other strong liquors shall be brought into the house by or to any patient, and if any such be found, it shall be taken away."

November
16, 1733

Later on it was resolved that beer should be provided for the servants and nurses at 10s. a barrel, each of them to be allowed 1 quart a day, besides common small beer, the matron to keep the cellar key, and employ a proper person to draw the beer. A complaint of the quality of the small beer was followed by a suggestion to erect a brewhouse "for the supply of drink for the family and patients," but the scheme was not adopted, though in the alternative another brewer was chosen by the Board.

March 11,
1752

The assize of bread is set out in *The Daily Journal*, November 21, 1733 :

	lb.	oz.	dr.	
One penny (or two halfpenny) loaf, new, to weigh	{ 00	09	02	white,
	{ 00	13	14	wheaten,
	{ 00	18	09	household.
Twopenny loaf ..	{ 01	02	04	white,
	{ 01	17	12	wheaten,
	{ 02	05	02	household.
Sixpenny loaf ...	{ 05	03	06	wheaten,
	{ 06	15	04	household.
Twelvepenny loaf	{ 10	06	13	wheaten,
	{ 13	14	07	household.
Eighteenpenny loaf	{ 15	10	03	wheaten,
	{ 20	13	11	household.

And whereas it is enacted that all bakers shall and may after September 1, 1715, make, bake, sell, and expose for sale, peck, $\frac{1}{2}$ peck, quartern, or half quartern loaves, so as the same are made and sold, both as to weight and price, in proportion to the assize table, according to which they are ascertained as follows :

Wheaten Bread.				Wheaten Bread.			
	lb.	oz.	dr.		lb.	oz.	dr.
Peck loaf	17	06	02	Quartern loaf	04	05	08
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck loaf	08	11	01	$\frac{1}{2}$ quart ⁿ loaf	02	02	12

N.B.—The price of the $\frac{1}{2}$ peck fine wheaten, according to the present assize, is 10d., and so in proportion.

The prices of provisions varied somewhat at different times during the period in review. Mutton was rather more expensive than beef; while veal, pork, and lamb were the same price, the average according to the contracts entered into being $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound.

Price of
Provisions

The report of a committee to consider the diet of the hospital shows that legs of mutton, weighing 100 pounds, when raw, showed a loss of waste and bones when boiled of 38 pounds. Shoulders of veal, weighing 100 pounds, when raw, showed a loss of waste and bones when roasted of 42 pounds. Shoulders of veal, "for the family" (meaning that it was not so much cooked), weighing 100 pounds when raw, showed a loss of waste and bones when roasted of 40 pounds. Beef, "for the family," weighing 100 pounds when raw, showed a loss of waste and bones when roasted of 39 pounds.

Best Gloucestershire cheese was $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound, and best Suffolk or Cambridge butter was from 5d. to 6d. per pound. The average price of bread, according to the assize, was 10d. for a $\frac{1}{2}$ peck loaf, weighing $8\frac{3}{4}$ pounds.

New milk — no other is ever mentioned — cost about $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. a quart, on yearly contracts; though at times the price was higher during the winter months.

Coals, like bread, were sold under the assize, and varied from 26s. to 30s. per chaldron; but the extra charges added about 3s. 2d. to the cost by the time it was delivered.

Oatmeal was 5s. 6d. per bushel in groats, the grinding being free.

Tradesmen

The committees appointed for furnishing the house, etc., apparently selected tradesmen to supply what was required, and in their choice gave the preference to those who were subscribers. Among these were Henry Warcop, linen-draper; William Middleton, chairmaker; Thomas Rea, of Knightsbridge, brewer; Mickelburgh of New Bond Street, baker; William Huddle, candlemaker; William Berkin, joiner; Galfridus Mann, clothier; and Edward Pincke, druggist, of Ludgate Hill.

This seems to have been the custom at other like institutions up to a much later date; and in 1788, upon

Howard's visit to the Middlesex Hospital, he saw, and "was sorry to see," among the printed laws and orders of that charity : "That all drugs, medicines, materials, and necessaries, be bought from persons who will furnish them at the cheapest rate, and that the preference be given to tradesmen who are subscribers." There is something to be said for either view. If the quality of the articles provided was good, cheapness was a recommendation ; if a subscriber supplied the charity honestly, why should he not have the preference over others who took no interest in the hospital ? On the other hand, any laxity of administration would open the door to dishonest dealing, as has been shown by the scandals of Poor Law administration.

But before the end of the first year it was resolved that in future no tradesman should be employed, or removed from his employment, or any work be done for, or relating to, the hospital, except by order of the Board ; an echo of which resolution may be detected in a complaint made by Mr. Serjeant Dickins, that it had been rumoured that he had employed persons on hospital business without the sanction of the Board, who thereupon expressed their entire satisfaction with all that he had done.

November
26, 1734

December
11, 1734

It seems to have been the custom to advertise for tenders for the supply of certain provisions, such as meat, butter, and cheese, generally for a period of six months ; but for others, such as bread and coal, which were then sold under the assize, legally determining weight, or measure, and price, no such tenders were required.

October 30, 1734, Mr. John Richardson, of Goodman's Fields, was appointed to supply trusses ; but the following month Mr. John Dappe, of Pall Mall, afterwards a Governor, offered to supply trusses and other instruments at prime cost. It does not appear, however, that his offer was accepted,

Surgical
Instruments

though it probably enabled the Board to make better terms with Richardson. The latter eventually formulated a table of prices, and offered to attend the hospital every Wednesday at 11 a.m., and to undertake repairs gratis until the patient required a new instrument. This scale, which was accepted by the Board, was—

Single steel trusses, at 10s. ; double, at 15s.

Straight laced stockings, at 2s. 6d. ; dimitty bag trusses, at 3s.

Steel instruments for lame or crooked legs, with a shoe, at 18s.

In the following August Mr. Johnson, truss-maker, of Little Britain, Smithfield, was joined with Richardson.

The position of instrument-maker to the hospital appears to have been a coveted one, for, April 7, 1736, Richard Mears was notified, by order of the Governors, that if he did not take down the board whereon he declared himself truss-maker to St. George's Hospital, the society would advertise him as imposing upon the town by pretending to be their truss-maker. Shortly after this it appears that Richardson had vacated that position, for, May 5, 1736, Mr. Dappe was appointed to make the trusses and all other instruments for the patients of the hospital ; and some years later he offered to supply poor patients gratis, on receiving a note from the Board.

February 11, 1740-1, Philip Green, the barber to the hospital, who also supplied wooden legs, was paid his account for "shaving the patients' heads." But he was discharged a few months later for abusing the matron ; whereupon the Board contracted with John Gully at the following rates :

For boxes, for below the knee, with a pillow, broad thigh-belt, waist-belt, and stump, 7s.

Similar to above, but above the knee, with belts, 6s.

Crutches at 12s. per dozen pair.

Numerous payments are recorded for tow ; sponge, which was bought by the pound ; leather for plaisters ; swan-skin ; "Dowlass" for laced stockings ; flannel and linen for bandages ; "bandages for dropsical patients while being treated" ; napkins for the surgeons' use ; cradles for the surgeons' use, at 7s. each ; fracture-boxes ; an oilskin apron for patients when blooded ; an instrument for cupping and glasses ; one dozen pewter pellets (*sic*)—*i.e.*, measures—to hold 6 ounces each, for bleeding ; six copper pans for warming the dressings, "according to Mr. Bromfield's directions" ; bottles for use in the surgery ; boxes of surgeons' instruments (which were provided by the charity to the honorary staff, contrary to the custom at the endowed hospitals, whose surgeons were salaried officials) ; and cupboards for the security of the surgeons' dressing-boxes.

Various ladies interested in the hospital presented old linen sheets, napkins, and table-cloths, and the matron was empowered to purchase similar articles from the "table-deckers" at Court. These were made into bandages and lint ; while material for making shirts and shifts for the patients, as well as second-hand clothing and shoes, form frequent items of the accounts.

Pursuing the study of the various ailments of the patients Diseases from January 1, 1733-4, to July 16, 1735, on which later date the entry of these particulars in the Minute-book ceased by order of the Board, one comes across matters of varying interest. Other books had been provided for that purpose, and the duplication of the entries was not thought necessary. The disappearance of these may have its explanation in a report issued by the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital (1821), to the effect that they found that "the prescription-book of the physicians and surgeons has been hitherto usually

destroyed at the end of each year"; and again in a report of 1834: "The history of the nature, progress, and treatment of all medical cases, and in case of death and examination of the body an account of the morbid appearances, are kept in the ward-books by the several medical officers. These are not, however, preserved by the hospital, but allowed to become the property of the physician or surgeon, by whom, and under whose directions, they were recorded" (*Wilson*, pp. 77, 116).

The patients entered on the books of the hospital during the above period number 1,502, while for the first twelve months there were 840.

They were as follows, but where the diagnosis consists of two diseases, the first alone is adhered to in classifying them :

Consumption	...	185	Asthma	...	...	35
Intermittent fever	...	124	Worms	...	...	8
Fever	...	45	St. Vitus' dance	...	...	3
Rheumatism	...	154	Leprous	...	...	13
Scorbutic ditto	...	2	Cough	...	...	29
Gastric	...	38	Convulsions	...	...	8
Chlorosis	...	9	Nervous disorders	...	...	40
Jaundice	...	17	Scald head	...	...	9
Dropsy	...	59	Haemorrhages	...	...	17
Palsy	...	45	Gout	...	...	9
Pleurisy	...	15	Sciatica	...	...	6
Ringworm	...	2	Pain in various			
Fluor albus	...	20	parts	...	...	21
Colic	...	16	Whooping-cough	...	...	3
Epilepsy	...	22	Bronchocele	...	...	1
Herpes	...	5	Boils	...	...	1
Scurvy	...	47	Chicken-pox	...	...	1

Scarlet fever ...	...	1	Ophthalmia ...	...	18
Puerperal fever	...	1	Obstructions ...	...	19
Prolapse ...	...	1	Rupture ...	...	25
Rickets ...	...	1	White swelling	...	15
Lead-poisoning	...	2	Bladder ...	...	9
Scrophula ...	...	14	Cut tendon ...	...	1
Evil ...	...	6	Amputation wound	...	1
Itch ...	...	7	Abscesses ...	...	7
Diabetes ...	...	3	Gonorrhœa ...	...	1
Erysipelas ...	...	6	Tumours ...	...	35
Vomiting ...	...	4	Contusions ...	...	15
Melancholia ...	...	3	Cancer ...	...	10
Cholera ...	...	1	Sprains ...	...	5
Cachexia ...	...	9	Fistula in ano	...	13
Wasting ...	...	3	Inflamed leg ...	...	14
Albugo ...	...	1	Lues venerea	...	9
Cutaneous ...	...	17	Spina ventosa	...	2
Ulcers ...	...	128	Bite of dog ...	...	1
Foul ditto ...	...	9	Luxation of spine	...	1
Fractures ...	...	19	Cataract ...	...	3
Glandular ...	...	9	Burns ...	...	2
Caries ...	...	5	Accidents ...	...	16
Stone in bladder	...	5	Wounds ...	...	4
Stone in kidney	...	8	Stiff joints ...	...	4

The nomenclature of disease has changed greatly since those early days. The term phthisis was seldom, if ever, used ; bronchitis, pneumonia, and peritonitis do not occur. Among the cases are found : " arthritis nodosa, or knotty-joint gout "; leprous eruptions, and leprosy ; lues, lues venerea, and " foul " ulcers ; scurvy, manifesting itself in various forms which gave its name to the diagnoses of scorbutic rheumatism, eruptions, and ulcers ; tumours ensuing upon small-pox (prob-

ably pyæmic); St. Anthony's fire and St. Vitus' dance, names derived from monastic superstitions which associated with each particular disease the saint who was reputed to have the special gift of curing it.

At one time scrophula occurs; at another the evil, or king's evil, equivalent terms for the disease manifesting itself in glandular swellings of the neck, eruptions on the face, or affections of the eyes. Scrophula was called king's evil, not because kings suffered from it—the classical *morbus regius* was jaundice—but because by a divine and miraculous gift, supposed to have descended to them from St. Edward the Confessor, they were able to cure it by their touch alone.

The general division of cases into medical and surgical appears to have been founded on the differentiation between those exhibiting themselves externally, which were surgical, and those without external manifestations, and consequently more obscure and difficult of diagnosis, which were confided to the more skilled physician. But there were exceptions to this, for, according to Act 34-5 Henry VIII, it was enacted that the treatment of any outward sore, swelling, or disease, together with drinks for the stone, strangury, and *ague*, was permitted to any person possessed of a knowledge of herbal simples. This "The Quack's *Magna Charta*" is, be it noted, unrepealed.

Syphilis, upon its first appearance or recognition, seems to have manifested itself very frequently in lesions of the bones of the nose, face, and scalp, stamping the person labouring under such disfigurement with the reproach of incontinency and the stigma of infection. In consequence of these external manifestations the secret treatment of syphilis was seized upon by the barbers and unqualified persons as within their prerogative, until, upon the formation of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, it was given over to those members of the United

Company who "used surgery only," ever since which syphilis has been regarded as a surgical disease.

The salivating wards at St. George's were not called Lock Wards, probably because—since clean as well as "foul" patients were salivated (see pp. 71, 72 *ante*)—that term was considered, as at other hospitals, to convey an unnecessary imputation upon the characters of their inmates (*Hist. Midd. Hosp.*, p. 63).

In the letter from one of the trustees of the Westminster Infirmary (see pp. 71, 72 *ante*), dated December, 1738, vetoing the proposing admission of venereal patients to that institution, it is distinctly stated, that while at St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Guy's, such patients were only admitted on payment of special fees, at St. George's and Westminster, then the only voluntary hospitals, the Governors had made a strong order prohibiting the admission of all venereal cases. But we find that at St. George's cases of that description were treated as out-patients in considerable numbers; that some cases of "foul" ulcers—then the common term for syphilis—were included among the in-patients; and that, as early as November, 1734, mention of a salivating ward occurs in the Minutes. No further mention is made of such a ward until four years later, when the nurses of these wards, one for each sex, were ordered to keep an account of the milk received for their patients. But it must be remembered that clean patients as well as "foul" were salivated, these being cases of "a distempered habit of body and old stubborn ulcers." Meanwhile it may be assumed that syphilis, under the impression that it was an infectious disease, was included in the list of those infectious distempers¹ which were not allowed inside the wards; and any patient discovered after admission to be

June 28,
1738

¹ See forms of non-eligibility of certain cases, *Minutes*, April 9, 1738.

so affected, was ordered to be discharged.¹ No other order prohibiting the admission of syphilitics is found in the Minutes; and neither syphilis, nor any of its synonyms, is mentioned in the early by-laws.

The treatment of syphilis then in vogue consisted of mercurial inunction, for which purpose flannel was at first provided, but later was ordered to be found by the patient, and guiacum was prescribed internally. An extra allowance of milk was given to all patients in the salivating wards, their gums and mouths being too tender for solid food. To show the extent to which salivation was carried in somewhat later times, Grainger, in his *Essay on West Indian Diseases*, says, in speaking of yaws : "When the disease is on the decline, in order to secure the habit from any latent taint, the best plan is to maintain a gentle salivation for six weeks or two months ; but the quantity of spit should never exceed a quart in the twenty-four hours." If this was a gentle salivation, it would be interesting to know the extent of a "full" one.

Infectious
Diseases

By a by-law of November 16, 1733, no patient was to be "admitted"² who was suspected of having the small-pox, itch, scald head, or other infectious disease, and if so admitted, was to be discharged as soon as discovered.

Yet in the list of patients entered in the books from January 1, 1733-4, to July 16, 1735, 2 cases of ringworm, 9 of scald head, 3 of whooping-cough, 1 of chicken-pox, 1 of scarlet fever, 1 of puerperal fever, 7 of itch, 6 of erysipelas, and 9 of syphilis are found ; some of which were in-patients.

June 4,
1735

The physicians were desired not to examine any patient

¹ January 31, 1738-9, female, admitted for strained arm, found to be affected with syphilis ; case considered, and in mercy she is to be treated for both ailments concurrently.

² The word "admitted" is always used in the sense of "admitted to the benefits of the charity."

who had the marks of small-pox fresh and green ; and at that date, and until September 31, 1737, no such patients were received into the hospital itself. But thenceforward numerous entries appear of payments ordered by the Board for lodging and nursing in the houses of selected nurses those patients who might fall ill of the small-pox in the hospital.

The physicians were desired to discharge immediately all patients who might be discovered to have the itch, and some of these also were provided with accommodation outside the hospital at the expense of the charity, and were ordered to fetch their daily allowance of food from the hospital.

March 10,
1735-6

One patient affected with scarlet fever, and having sore throat and other symptoms, was made an out-patient for a month.

Unfortunately, the methods of cure adopted are no longer on record. The drug-bills rarely mention by name the materials supplied, but, so far as small-pox is concerned, saffron was a popular remedy ; indeed, that was its particular use in medicine, and upon its falling into disrepute, the cultivation of the plant declined.

The large number of cases of consumption, intermittent fever, rheumatism, and scurvy, is the conspicuous feature of the tables given above. Surgically, "ulcers" predominate, while the fractures and accident cases are surprisingly few.

It has already been explained that scurvy was somewhat of a generic term, and that when practitioners were in any way doubtful of the nature of the disease, they adopted that diagnosis.

Consumption appears to have been very prevalent, and with our present knowledge we can attribute its dissemination to the insanitary conditions of the dwellings of the poorer classes, by whom ventilation was not only unsought, but indeed avoided, in order to overcome the misery of cold—fuel

Consump-
tion

being very expensive. Cleanliness of the body was unthought of—indeed, almost impossible in the absence of bathing accommodation—in consequence of the habit of gin-drinking, then so rife; while the infectivity of the breath was totally unrecognized.

Fever and Ague

Intermittent fever in its various forms was rampant, not especially in London itself, but in the riparian villages of the Thames Valley, in the fenny districts of Essex, and the hop-gardens of Kent.

Diagnoses

Some of the diagnoses are difficult of explanation. For instance, when we read of a case of deafness and dumbness having been received into the hospital for treatment, we wonder what treatment was prescribed by Dr. Stuart, the receiving physician; while “a nervous spitting with paralytic tumours”—the diagnosis of Dr. Broxolme—and “atrophy, with violent pains and eruptions”—that of Dr. Ross—are quite beyond our powers of divination.

Among the surgical cases were: “Hernia acosa” (? aquosa)—*i.e.*, hydrocele; “spina ventosa,” a now obsolete term for a growth, probably sarcomatous, in the head of the tibia; and “tumour of the heart.”

There were three cases of lead-poisoning, one of the “bite of a dog,” and one of “luxation of the spine”; and among the operations and surgical treatment appear amputation, the application of the cautery, tapping for ascites, and “white knee opened.”

Stone

It is surprising to find that, in the whole eighteen and a half months, there were only nineteen fractures and sixteen accidents; and in stultification of our former belief that Cheselden, who, from the opening of the hospital to April, 1737, alone cut for stone at St. George’s, performed many such operations at the hospital, we discover that only five cases were admitted during that period. (A Minute of November 6, 1734, records

that "he was desired to cut a patient for the stone.") Similarly there was apparently little need of the special services of John Ranby, who was the official "coucher" to the hospital, since only three cases of cataract are to be found in the Minutes.

These two, Cheselden and Ranby, were the only specialists on the staff.

Some peculiar forms of treatment are preserved in the Minutes, and it may be taken for granted that the fact of the remedy being specified connotes the infrequency of its use. May 28,
1735

For instance, Mr. "Woord's" pills were prescribed on two occasions, one patient being affected with consumption, and the physician Dr. Hoadly ; the other with fever and ague, being under the care of Dr. Wasey.

This was the notorious "Spot" Ward, so called in consequence of a port-wine mark upon his face :

"Of late, without the least pretence to skill,
Ward's grown a famed physician by a pill."

Not only did he win fame, but also a fortune, by his Drop, Pill, and other preparations. Though at one time a dry-salter, such was his later reputation that he was called in to prescribe for George II ; and so successful was he in his treatment, that he is said to have procured a vote of the House of Commons protecting him from the interdictions of the College of Physicians.

The active principle of both Drop and Pill was Glass of antimony. They were attacked in a pamphlet, published in 1736, by Joseph Clutton, chemist, and one of the Governors to St. George's ; and it may well be that the use of the pills was discontinued at our hospital subsequent to and in consequence of Clutton's outspoken condemnation.

On August 8, 1739, it was suggested that a limited number of patients should be admitted to the hospital in order

Mrs.
Stephens'
Medicines

to try the effect of Mrs. Stephens' medicines, for which purpose 56 pounds of Alicant soap, one of the principal ingredients, had been previously obtained at a cost of £2 2s. 6d. Two months later it was decided that six patients should be so admitted, and that the drug account should be kept separate, and handed to the Board quarterly.

Various payments appear in the Minutes :

	£	s.	d.
October 24, 1739, Thomas Roberts, for Mrs. Stephens' powder supplied be- tween July 24 and September 25 ...	5	4	0
November 7, 1739, Mr. Boucher, for Alicant soap, for trial of Mrs. Stephens' medicine			
February 6, 1739-40, Thomas Roberts, for Mrs. Stephens' powder, supplied from October 4 to November 2 ...	2	0	0

On January 14, 1740-1, the continuance of the trial of Mrs. Stephens' medicine was put down for discussion, after which date no further mention occurs.

The story of Mrs. Joanna Stephens' remedy for the stone is one of the curiosities of medical literature. After publishing lists of her cures which were attested by many members of the titled aristocracy, she conceived the idea of selling her "secret" to the public in consideration of the sum of £5,000, to be raised by subscription. Although supported by many of the nobility, headed by the Bishops of Oxford and Gloucester, the sum asked for was not obtained, and upon her refusal to part with the "secret" for any lesser sum, her friends petitioned Parliament, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the particulars of her cures, and a certificate was issued, March 5, 1739 (five months prior to the intro-

duction of the treatment to St. George's) to the effect that she had revealed the composition and preparation of her medicines, and that *the committee were convinced, by experiment*, of the utility, efficacy, and dissolving power thereof. Among the signatories to this extraordinary document we find the Archbishop of Canterbury (Potter), and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the Rev. Dr. Stephen Hales,¹ the physicians Drs. Simon Burton, Peter Shaw, and David Hartley, and the surgeons William Cheselden, Cæsar Hawkins, and Samuel Sharp.

The medicines comprised a powder, a decoction, and pills, the powder being composed of egg-shells and snails calcined ; the decoction of some herbs, Alicant soap, and honey ; and the pills of snails calcined, herbs, soap, and honey.

It is recorded that Dr. Jurin, Voltaire's "famous Jurin," himself a great sufferer from stone, refused to countenance or avail himself of the remedy until after reading Dr. Hales' treatise ; and it was Jurin's administration of his *Lixivium Lithontripicum*—a somewhat similar and secret preparation—to Sir Robert Walpole in his last illness which excited the ire of John Ranby, and led to one of the most famous epistolary conflicts in the history of literature.

It is more than probable that the Rev. Dr. Hales, whose system of ventilation had been adopted by the Governors, was the prime mover of the proposal to give a trial to Mrs. Stephens' much-vaunted "cure," while Dr. Burton, Cheselden, and Hawkins, in the capacity of signatories to the certificate, doubtless gave it their support.

The majority of those patients who came from a distance are described as "strangers," without further particulars of their settlement ; but in some few instances, especially when

¹ Who published "Experiments and Observations" on the dissolving power of soap-lees on calculi.

money was given out of the Poor-box to carry them to their homes, the place of habitation is mentioned.

In addition to the neighbouring parishes, numerous patients came from the riparian villages of Chelsea, Chiswick, Richmond, Brentford, Kew, and Hampton. In default of any hospital accommodation in the provinces, they came from even "the remotest part of Scotland," from Ireland, and Wales. Ten shillings was provided to carry one patient to "the Bath"; a similar sum to send another by boat to Yarmouth; another was sent home to Derby by waggon; and 2s. 6d. was given to carry one patient to Paddington.

Burials
November
16, 1733

February 6,
1733-4

One of the earliest by-laws ordered that security should be given for the burial or removal of any patient received into the hospital, or a sum of 20s. should be deposited with the treasurer in lieu of such security. But this by-law was soon repealed, no security being henceforth required; and it was ordered that, if the recommender or friends of any patient dying in the hospital did not choose to do so, the body should be buried at the expense of the charity as cheaply as possible, the coffin being made of rough slit deal, and the shroud such as is usually provided by workhouses. In this latter case the coffin was to be covered with the pall provided by the hospital, and the porter received instructions to deliver to the sexton of St. George's, Hanover Square, a certificate¹ to the effect that the person named therein, aged — years, had died in the public hospital near Hyde Park Corner on the date stated. He was also to arrange that the body should be carried to the burial-ground of that parish at such time as the sexton should direct, but that no burial should take place on a Sunday, except upon extraordinary occasions. The original

¹ Note that this certificate, and the particulars it contained, was provided by the porter, and that no mention is made of its being signed by any medical officer.

burial-ground of St. George's was the yard surrounding the church, and was very small ; but about 1730 a piece of ground adjoining the workhouse in Mount Street was used as the parish burying-ground. This was only about $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres in extent, and by 1763 was full to overflowing ; whereupon about 5 acres of ground in Tyburn Field (Bayswater Road) were purchased.¹

The sum of 6s. was allowed to the parish for each person so buried, being 4s. for burial fees, and 2s. for the bearers ; while the coffin and shroud together appear to have cost 4s.

It was directed that any person proving his rightful claim within one month to the clothes of any patient so buried should be entitled to such clothes on payment of 10s., the estimated expense to the charity of such burial.

Whether to save expense, or in consequence of the limited accommodation in the parish cemetery, in March following Sir Hans Sloane, one of the early supporters of the charity, offered a piece of his land at Knightsbridge for the purpose of a burial-ground only for the use of the hospital. His offer was accepted, and the land was enclosed ; but no further mention of it appears in the Minutes, and it is probable that the period of its use (if any) was short, since the burial accounts run continuously from the date of the enclosure to the end of the year, showing that, if utilized at all, the accommodation was so restricted as to make no material difference in the number of bodies buried in the parish ground at the expense of the hospital. It is certain that the old order of things had been reverted to by April, 1738, when it was ordered that 200 certificates should be printed, which were "to be given to the sexton of the parish on the death of patients in this hospital."

March 7,
1734-5

April 2-11,
1735

¹ Holmes, *London Burial Grounds* ; Malcolm, *Lond. Redivivum*.

January 10,
1748-9

April 24,
1749

May 19,
1749

Many years later representations were made by the vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square, concerning the parish burial-ground, and in consequence some land at Brompton was purchased by trustees for the hospital for the sum of £460, with a fine of £41 17s. 6d., and the Rev. Thomas Hinton was engaged as chaplain to bury the poor of the hospital at a salary of £20 per annum from Lady Day.

These two pieces of garden ground and the buildings thereupon were purchased from the Rev. John Erskine, of Foxearth, Co. Essex, and Mary, his wife, the trustees for the hospital being the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Carpenter, and James Vernon ; and a copy of the Court Roll and the declaration of trust were deposited in the iron chest April 18, 1753. The land was copyhold of the Manor of Kensington, and the tenure stipulated for a fine upon alienation. In 1750 £2 2s. were paid to the Rev. Dr. Wilcox for two years' tithe.

This land was retained by trustees for the hospital until, in April, 1825, it was sold by the Governors, "to build a new church at Kensington (New Brompton)," and upon its site Holy Trinity Church was erected in 1826-8. The two pieces of land together measured from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres ; upon the square piece the church was built, the long, narrow piece being utilized as a churchyard. These two pieces are separately shown in Rocque's map of 1745.

There had been constant complaints from the parish vestry respecting patients who, upon their discharge or decease, had become chargeable to St. George's parish, in default of evidence of any legal settlement ; and it is seriously asserted in the Minutes that other parishes were in the habit of sending dying persons to the hospital in order to save themselves the expenses of burial. A committee of supervision was therefore appointed to inquire into this and other matters.

This committee ordered that the land should be paled in ; a pair of gates was provided, and a gardener engaged "to prune and nail up the vines." The first burial appears to have taken place June 7, 1749, and Hoare, the gardener, was paid his account for carrying the dead and digging a grave. By the April following he had himself died, for his widow then applied to the Board to rent the house and land at £14 per annum ; and from the quarterly bills she afterwards rendered, it appears that she received 2s. for the carrying and burying of each body (averaging from fifteen to twenty each quarter), and a sum varying from 10s. to 13s. for digging a grave, "— yards square, at 6d. a yard."

It is difficult to calculate the dimensions of each common grave, but in the *Orders of St. Thomas's Hospital*, 1707, it was explained that "the common grave should be 6 feet in length, 6 feet in depth, and 3 feet in breadth"; and no corpse was to be laid nearer than 2 feet from the surface, the sexton being paid 1s. 6d. for each grave.

Curiously enough, it is from the payments made to Mrs. Hoare that we are able to learn when first the patients and resident staff were provided with green vegetables, which there is little doubt were grown by the thrifty widow upon the land fertilized by the hospital dead.

June 27, 1750 and *passim* : "Mrs. Hoare, for greens at 8s. per week."

Early in 1746 a new pall was obtained at a cost of £2 10s. 6d. ; a shell coffin was provided for the use of the hospital ; a hearse, price £10 ; and it was ordered by the Board that one of the porters and one of the apothecary's men should assist in carrying the dead to the hearse from the hospital. A Minute of December 19, 1753, records : "Loom and grease for ye hearse wheels ; 34 times at 6d. a time : paid 17s."

THE
HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS
(*Continued*)

THE Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Richard Willis, who had **President** been elected the first President of St. George's Hospital at some date subsequent to April 3, 1734 (when the first list of Governors was published by the Board, in which list his name appears as an ordinary subscriber), died in the following August. His lordship, who enjoyed the favour of William III and George I, had previously occupied the sees of Gloucester and Salisbury, was one of the original supporters of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and was the first President of the Westminster Infirmary. He was a great sufferer from gout, from the effects of which he died at Winchester House, Chelsea, August 10, 1734. His portrait in oils, by Michael Dahl, in the palace at Salisbury, has been engraved in mezzotint by Simon. He was the only President of the hospital, from its inception to the present day, who has not been a member of the Royal Family.

In the following month it was decided to ask H.R.H. September
23, 1734 Frederick, Prince of Wales, to accept the office of President ; and upon his compliance, he was desired to appoint one or more vice-presidents as he might think fit ; his first choice falling upon Lord Chancellor Talbot, who was joined somewhat later in that office by the Earl of Oxford and the new Bishop of Winchester, Benjamin Hoadly. December
4, 1734

On March 20, 1751, H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had been President of the hospital since 1734, died after a short illness, in consequence of pleurisy following a cold caught in his garden at Kew. Ever since the rupture with his father in 1737 the Prince had retired from the Court, and lived at Kew like a private gentleman, divested of all the external marks of royalty. It would seem that in his seclusion the affairs of the hospital did not interest him, though he continued his annual subscription ; and overwhelming as his death at the age of forty-four may have been to the nation at large, no mention is made of it in the Minutes.

The only side reference which exists is found March 4, 1752, when the Duke of Portland acquainted the Board that, together with the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Folkestone, and Lord Romney, he had waited upon his H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales (then in his fourteenth year), and that His Royal Highness had consented to accept the presidency of of the hospital.

The following is a list of the Presidents to date :

1. President : Bishop of Winchester, 1734.
2. President : H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, 1734 to 1751.
3. President : H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales (*post* 1760 George III), 1752 to 1820.
4. President and Patron : H.M. George IV, 1820 to 1830.
5. President and Patron : H.M. William IV, 1830 to 1837.
6. President and Patron : H.M. Queen Victoria, 1837 (after 1876 President only) to 1901.
7. Patron : H.M. Edward VII, 1901 to 1910 (President : H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales).
8. Patron : H.M. George V, 1910 (President : H.R.H. Princess Christian).

At the second general Board Mr. Richard Aspinwall and **Treasurers** Captain Joseph Hudson had been appointed joint treasurers, and we find that somewhat later a room was allotted for their use on the left-hand side within the hall door.

In 1736 the society possessed £1,500 in India Bonds, but in that and the following year they purchased Clarke's interest in the lease (£200) and the freehold of the property from the Dean and Chapter (£500); and, in addition, they built the two northern and the south-eastern wings at a cost of about £3,500; so that, by the commencement of 1738, their reserve capital had vanished, and the balance in hand was represented by a sum of £306 10s. 3½d.

In order to procure the more punctual payment of subscriptions, printed notices were provided asking subscribers to send their payments to the hospital on the weekly Board-days to save the expense of a paid collector, and adding that most subscribers had hitherto paid their yearly subscriptions in advance to aid the carrying on of the charity. As an encouragement to give notice to the Board of any legacy left to the use of the society, it was ordered that Mr. Harding, of Doctors' Commons, should be paid 10s. 6d. for every such notice; and, on his death in 1746, another clerk, bearing the now ominous name of Mr. Raffles, was nominated for a like purpose.

In 1739 the trustees of Dr. Radcliffe's charity were asked to consider the claims of the hospital to their favourable assistance; but the effect of the application is not recorded, though it is probable that some previous benefactions had been given, since, as early as March, 1736-7, the "Ratcliffe" ward is mentioned in the Minutes.

In 1741 it was decided that the messenger, for whose fidelity four of the Governors had become guarantors in the sum of £200, should collect subscriptions, which arrangement was renewed each following year.

July 3, 1741

In addition, a committee was appointed to investigate the orders referring to the cash in hand, and after noticing that no investments had been made since December, 1734, recommended—

1. That the cash and treasure, apart from current cash in the hands of the banker, should be kept in the chest in the Board-room;¹ and that the latter should not be opened except at a weekly or general Board, seven Governors being present.
2. That the tradesmen's and other accounts should be paid by the treasurers, and that they be empowered to accept subscriptions, benefactions, and legacies.
3. That at each weekly Board the treasurers should bring or send the banking account, and report the amount of balance in hand.
4. That the clerk should keep separate books of receipts and payments.
5. That the weekly Board should invest the surplus of current cash in East India Bonds.
6. That, after reading the Minutes, each weekly Board should consider the amount of cash in hand, so as to adjust the expenditure accordingly.

April 9,
1742

A suggestion to limit the number of patients to be recommended by subscribers of under five guineas was negatived; but it was decided to add to the printed letters requesting payment of subscriptions a paragraph desiring that no con-

¹ This is the chest mentioned on p. 121, which measures 22" x 13" x 14", and is banded and studded with iron. It has two side drop-handles, and in the front two hasps to carry padlocks. In front there is a large floreated plaque with a central keyhole, which is a dummy; the practicable keyhole is in the lid, and is hidden by an iron stop, which is removed by pressing a secret stud. The key to this is large and very light, the stem being hollow. The three keys alluded to on p. 121 would comprise this, and one for each padlock, all which latter are missing.

tributor more than one month in arrear should recommend patients to the hospital.

In October, 1745, for some reason unrecorded, Mr. Andrew Drummond paid to the treasurers the balance of cash in his hands, which was placed in a small iron chest provided for that purpose; and so matters continued, the society having no banking account, until, in May, 1747, the current cash was ordered to be placed in the hands of Messrs. Drummond as before.

Meanwhile, at a yearly general Court held February 7, 1745-6, it was resolved, by special leave, that a book should be opened for gifts or voluntary subscriptions for the benefit of Mr. Aspinwall, "who from the beginning of this charity, for now 12 years, with constant attendance and very extraordinary services, has been a very useful member of this society, and is now reduced in his circumstances by several misfortunes"; and it was further resolved that, in spite of this subscription, he should continue to be a Governor.

The first secretary appointed by the Governors was Secretary
November
2, 1733 Mr. Thomas Smith, who had been a subscriber to the mother institution at Westminster, and undertook the office at St. George's without fee or reward.

His duties increasing with the development and enlargement of the hospital, in June, 1735, it was agreed that a writer should be employed from time to time to post up the Minutes, which up to the previous March had been done by the honorary secretary; and a room in the hospital, "on the right-hand side within the hall door," was set aside for his special use.

In 1738 a permanent clerk under the secretary's direction was engaged by the Board, and it is probable that within a few months Mr. Smith died, although no mention is made of that event other than an allusion to him in the Minutes as June 14,
1738

June 30,
1738

"the late secretary." Thereupon Mr. Luke Cade, who had been Mr. Smith's assistant, was engaged as clerk, instead of secretary, at a salary of £20 per annum and "his dyet in the house." Mr. Cade died during August, 1740, whereupon Mr. Thomas Mason was elected in his stead, and the following rules relating to his duties were agreed to:

1. The clerk shall attend all general Courts, weekly Boards and committees; take Minutes, engross them fairly, and perform all other writing business required for the society.
2. He shall regularly issue all summons for general Courts, committees, and all other occasions.
3. He shall (under the direction of the register) keep the account of patients received and discharged.
4. He shall observe what repairs are necessary in the building, report the same to the weekly Board, and keep an exact account of the workmen employed, and repairs made by their order.
5. He shall visit all the wards at least once a day, and every Thursday at dinner time; he shall in each ward read all the rules and orders relating to nurses and patients with a distinct and audible voice, and take all possible care to be understood by all.
6. He shall assist the matron in weighing or measuring meat, bread, butter, cheese, and all other provisions, and keep an exact account of the same, to be reported to the weekly Board.
7. He shall always observe such other orders as the weekly Board shall think proper to enjoin from time to time for the service of the charity.
8. He shall reside in the house, and, with washing and board at the matron's table, be at a salary of £20 per annum,

and a gratuity of —— more per annum, on condition of his good behaviour.

It is stated in the Minutes that Mr. Mason reduced to proper order the books of the hospital, which had been left in great confusion by the late clerk, for which special service he was given an extra gratuity of five guineas ; but in January, 1742-3, he received his discharge, and the Board was desired to consider what security should be required for the fidelity of future clerks. This sum was eventually fixed at £50, the security to be first approved by the Board. The resolution was the result of the defalcations of Thomas Mason, who had received subscriptions amounting to £22, for which he had not accounted ; and as the Board held no security for his fidelity, they proceeded to stop his wages and annual gratuity, thus recouping themselves for his dishonesty. At the next Court several candidates presented themselves as applicants for the office ; and after they had been questioned "particularly with regard to their religion" (that they were Protestants), Mr. Van Riell was elected by ballot, giving security for his good behaviour in the above-mentioned sum.

February 2,
1742-3

In March, 1744-5, the clerk absconded, leaving a letter to say that his misfortunes obliged him to go abroad, and tendering his resignation ; and on the recommendation of the Bishop of Worcester, Mr. Hugh Say was elected on probation. The following month he was appointed clerk, the security being raised to £100. He held office until his death in September, 1756.

April 27,
1745

At the early weekly Board meetings the average number of Governors present averaged from 15 to 20, but the attendance at the general Boards, which at Midsummer, 1735, appear for the first time to have been called Courts, varied considerably according to the business in hand.

Boards and
Courts

June 26,
1735

Whenever a medical officer was to be elected, there was apparently a whip round to procure a large attendance on behalf of each candidate. Thus, while the average at the early meetings was 35, the Court at which Cæsar Hawkins was elected surgeon numbered 64, among whom was Richard Mead. At some the Earl of Oxford, a Vice-President, was in the chair, and on one occasion Lord Hardwicke presided.

On the occasion of the disagreement leading to the resignation of the 2 Serjeant-Surgeons and the Earl of Burlington (December 16, 1737), 87 were present; and at the subsequent yearly Court (February 3, 1737-8), when Cheselden and the 2 Serjeant-Surgeons were elected the first consulting staff of the hospital, 95 Governors attended, the Earl of Oxford presiding.

When Middleton was called abroad to serve with the British Army in Flanders in March, 1743-4, he asked leave of the Board to name a deputy in his absence, and 98 governors decided to grant his request. But in the following May a somewhat similar question in the case of John Wreden was considered and answered in the negative by a Board numbering 71. This was followed in June by Wreden's resignation and the election of Bromfield and Hewitt, when 119 Governors were present.

In February, 1745-6, the Earl of Shaftesbury being in the chair, and Dr. Mead present, 164 Governors attended to elect a physician in the place of Dr. Peters, who had resigned; and to acquiesce in the promotion of a subscription on behalf of Mr. Richard Aspinwall, who had acted as one of the honorary treasurers since the foundation of the society, and was in reduced circumstances in consequence of several misfortunes. Five years later (March, 1750) 106 Governors, among whom was David Garrick, attended to elect a

physician *vice* Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, their choice falling upon Dr. John Clephane.

The solicitor employed by the seceders from Westminster to negotiate the lease of Lanesborough House was a Mr. Emily; and when, in 1737, the purchase of the freehold and Clarke's interest in the lease was negotiated, a Mr. David Gill was employed to draw up the necessary deeds. But it was not until 1742 that Mr. John Sanderson was officially appointed solicitor for the hospital, subsequently to which date he represented the charity in various matters. Messrs. Fazakerby, Hugh Marriott, and Jeremiah Griffith, the two latter of whom were Governors of the hospital, were the barristers whose opinions were obtained when necessary.

In 1735 the Governors came into possession of a house in Bond Street, under a bequest of Mr. Edmund Wandsell, and the Lords Tyrconnel and Carpenter were appointed trustees.

Some opposition to the will was made by the widow and son of the testator; and, in consideration of their withdrawal, Mrs. Wandsell was allowed to recommend patients as a subscriber.

The rent of the premises was reduced from £110 to £100 per annum, and the property was insured in the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office for £1,100. It is still in the possession of the charity.

One of the primary objects of the Westminster Charitable Society was to reclaim the souls of the sick, and in order to do this, to give notice to the minister of the parish in which they lived of their state and abode, so that he or some other clergyman might visit them.

The religious sentiments here expressed were handed down to the promoters of the Westminster Infirmary, and shortly after the secession to Hyde Park Corner, it was announced that several eminent divines had agreed to attend

the patients daily for their spiritual comfort and instruction. In furtherance of these motives, the contributors made efforts to secure the patronage and support of the dignitaries of the Church ; and at the first general meeting it was announced that the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Richard Willis, the President of the Westminster Infirmary, was inclined to promote and encourage the institution near Hyde Park Corner. He was thereupon elected a trustee or Governor, and, a fortnight later, himself attended a meeting at Lanesborough House in that capacity. Not only was his advice and assistance obtained in the conduct of the negotiations respecting the division of the cash in the chest at Westminster and other differences, but a few months afterwards—probably during April—he consented to become the first President of the new hospital, which office he held until his death in August, 1734. It was he who (February 6, 1733-4) suggested to the Governors the desirability of obtaining a charter towards the expenses of which he contributed a donation of £100, leaving it to them, if they thought fit, to apply it to other purposes.

Another influential supporter was the Rev. Andrew Trebeck, Rector of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, who, having been a subscriber to the Westminster Infirmary “from its earliest infancy,” endeavoured to compose the differences which had arisen between the rival parties ; and addressing the Governors present at the Board meeting, a few days before the final severance, counselled friendly relations, whatever might be the issue. To show his impartiality, he proposed to divide his subscription equally between the two charities, evidently in the hope that the example would be followed by others. This course he actually pursued, until, at Midsummer, 1734, he gave notice to the Westminster Governors that he did not intend to

continue to subscribe to their establishment. Meanwhile he had identified himself prominently with our hospital, which was situated in his own parish, and it was he who preached the recommendatory sermon two days before its doors were first opened to the public. A copy of this sermon, which was printed at the request of the Governors, may be seen at the British Museum ; and as one of the earliest printed documents relating to St. George's, it deserves a more detailed description than present space affords. The title-page reads as follows :

A | Sermon | Preached at the Parish Church of | St. George, Hanover-Square.| December 30, 1733.| To recommend the Charity for the | Sick and Lame in the new erected | Hospital at Lanesborough-House.| To which are annexed some | Observations and Motives | to enforce the said Charity.| With Prayers for the Use of the Patients : | An Account of the Rules and By-Laws | of the Hospital : And a List | of the Governors Names.|

By Andrew Trebeck, B.D. | Rector of St. George, Hanover-Square.|

London : | Printed by J. Watts. MDCCXXXIII.

Although this date might lead us to suppose that the sermon was published immediately after its delivery, the fact that among the by-laws appended is included (No. 11) one which was not made a resolution of the Board until February 27, 1733-4, shows that the pamphlet could not have been printed until after the latter date, thus making it probable that the "Case," dated the 6th of that month, is the earliest printed document dealing with St. George's.

It is worth noting that, though it was suggested that an anniversary sermon should be preached at each annual feast, as was the custom with many charities in London and the provinces, in neither respect was the suggestion consummated —at least, during the first twenty years.

October 28,
1733

One of the early resolutions directed that two sets of books, comprising a Bible, Prayer-Book, etc., should be provided, together with desks to place them upon in each of the wards ; and, some years later, chains were ordered to be fixed to the Church Homilies, "as they already were to the Bibles and Prayer-Books."

In addition, Lady Sondes, Mrs. Curson, and Lady Catherine Hyde, sent donations for the purchase of Bibles and Prayer-Books for the use of the patients, and Mr. Trebeck presented the society with a quarto Bible.

Among other presents of religious literature were copies of the *Sermon preached at the funeral of John, Earl of Rochester*, 1680 (August 9). The author was Robert Parsons, Rector of Adderbury, chaplain to the Dowager Countess, to whom it was dedicated. The Earl was at once the most dissolute of the courtiers of Charles II, and the poet who satirized his royal master as one "who never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one." He is also related to have set up as a quack doctor under the name of Alexander Bendo, and to have had a stall on Tower Hill. When nearing his end, he sought and obtained the ministrations of Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who received his death-bed repentance. This sermon gave a somewhat sensational account of his death and the remorse he exhibited, and attracted so much attention that it was frequently reprinted.

Another pamphlet, copies of which were sent, was written and presented by the Rev. Dr. Stephen Hales, of Teddington,¹ entitled, *A friendly admonition to the drinkers of brandy and other distilled spirituous liquors*. In it he draws attention to the increase of drunkenness in late years, and affirms that brandy, by coagulating and thickening the blood and con-

¹ Dr. Hales also wrote upon Mrs. Stephens' medicines, and on ventilators which he devised and introduced into the wards of the hospital.

tracting the narrow vessels, produces obstructions and stoppages in the liver, whence originate jaundice, dropsy, etc. It burns up the lungs, wears out the substance and coats of the stomach, depraves the natural temper, and breeds polypuses in the heart, which, growing larger and larger, at last stops the course of the blood. The drinking habit grows, produces poverty by waste of money and want of health to work; hence the great increase of the poor, and of the number of robberies committed. He adds: "I have heard physicians say that Bath waters drunk on the spot, or a course of warm bitters, will often restore to health." Still another pamphlet was entitled, *Serious advice to persons who have been sick: to be put into their hands as soon as they are recovered, with a thanksgiving for recovery*, by Edmund (Gibson), Lord Bishop of London. But the tract which, from the number presented by benefactors, and purchased at the expense of the charity, seems to have been held in the highest favour, was *The Christian Monitor*, 500 of which were usually ordered at the same time at a cost of 50s. Its full title was, *The Christian Monitor, containing an earnest exhortation to an holy life, with some directions in order thereto; written in a plain and easie stile for all sorts of people*. The author was the Rev. John Rawlet, B.D. There were many editions, one in Welsh.

In 1745, as it were to counterbalance the resuscitation of Jacobite hopes and Papist aspirations, we find that a parcel of a tract, entitled *A short refutation of the errors of the Church of Rome*, was donated to the Governors, whose religious leanings had been displayed in a by-law enacting, August 5
1741"That for the future it be required of every person to be admitted a servant into this hospital that he or she bring a proper certificate of their being Protestants."

On January 17, 1738-9, some "original prints of the seven

works of mercy were presented by an unknown person through Mr. James Hutton, bookseller at the Bible and Crown, near Temple Bar, to be hung up in the Board-room."

A Minute of March 6, 1733-4, records that "the late Lady Curson ordered a chalice and patten of silver-gilt to be bought for the use of the hospital," and that they were presented to the Board by Mr. Serjeant Dickins, who, on December 7 previous, had paid in ten guineas on behalf of Mrs. Curson as a benefaction from her late mother. The real facts were that Sarah (Penn), the widow of Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 2nd Bart. of Kedleston, had died as long before as November, 1727, leaving by her will £100 to be distributed at her discretion by her daughter and executrix, Elinor, among the poor of St. George's parish, where she had resided. There appears in the Report of the Charity Commissioners "Sir Nathaniel and Eleanor Curzon's gift" (xxv., 65). Miss Elinor Curzon, called, according to the custom of the time, Mrs. (*i.e.*, Mistress) Curzon, chose to expend a portion of this money in the purchase of the above Communion-plate, having already given a benefaction in her mother's name, which she supplemented in the following year by a sum of ten guineas for the purpose of buying books "for the use of the new wards."

December
11, 1734

The chalice is of silver-gilt ; the bowl, with everted edge, is supported by a rounded stem, which is flanged, and stands on a circular base. The front of the bowl bears the inscription :

"The Communion Plate for the use of the Hospital
near Hyde Parke given by the late Lady Curzon of
Kedleston in Derbyshire. A.D. 1733."

The plate-marks are almost indistinguishable, one being a star, and another a fleur-de-lys (?). It is probably of French manufacture.

The patten is of silver-gilt. It is plain, with a raised edge, and stands on a short pedestal. Its upper surface bears an inscription, similar to above,¹ in three crescentic lines enclosing the date. There are no plate-marks whatever.

In order to provide for the spiritual ministration of the patients the clerical subscribers to the charity were desired to meet at the Mount Coffee-house, near Grosvenor Square, to consult concerning the measures proper and necessary therefor; and according to the "Case," published February 6, 1733-4, several eminent divines agreed to attend the patients daily for their spiritual comfort and instruction, among them being the Rev. Hugh Fraser.

November
9, 1733

As further evidence of the religious sentiments which actuated the subscribers, one has only to read the paragraph in each Annual Account dealing with the care of the souls of the patients, and to notice the order of the Board directing that a printed form should be given to each patient on his discharge, to be carried by him to the minister of his parish church, expressing his desire to return thanks to God for his recovery.

February 6,
1733-4

Five months after the hospital was opened the thanks of the Board were given to Mr. Fraser for his care and attendance upon the patients; and a year later he was desired to take upon himself (permanently and solely) the spiritual services of the hospital, which he "condescended to accept without fee or reward," whereupon he was unanimously elected for that purpose. This he continued to do until mid-summer, 1738, when some prospect arose of his vacating office; indeed, the Board had gone so far as to request Mr. Kinross, who had been suggested to them as a proper person to succeed him, to meet Mr. Fraser by appointment so

May 29,
1734

March 31,
1735

June 30,
1738

¹ The inscription only differs from that on the chalice in the spelling of the words "Park" and "Curson."

July 19,
1738

that he might learn the duties, and consider whether he was able and willing to undertake them. What his decision was is uncertain ; all that appears is that, on August 4, Mr. Fraser, "who had performed his divine offices for three years," was elected chaplain to the hospital, which was the first appointment to that office in terms. The fact that at a previous meeting it was debated what "encouragement" should be given to the chaplain who should be elected, suggests that Mr. Fraser had notified the Board that he could not continue his offices without salary, which suggestion is strengthened by a Minute of the Special General Court at which he was elected : "That the money which has been already paid in upon subscriptions for a chaplain to this hospital, and is in the hands of the treasurers, be paid to Mr. Fraser as a reward for his past services ; and that he be at liberty to receive the same notwithstanding certain orders to the contrary." It was further agreed that a subscription should be opened for raising an annual allowance for Mr. Fraser as chaplain of the hospital, to which any person was at liberty to subscribe sums from 5s. to 21s. per annum, as they should think fit. The Board also decided that in order to preserve his authority and influence over the poor patients in the hospital, and the better to maintain regularity among them, Mr. Fraser should be continued a Governor, notwithstanding his allowance as chaplain.

Before the opening of the hospital it was ordered that when any minister should read prayers, notice was to be given to all the patients, so that those who were able should attend ; and, somewhat later, it was directed that no person should be permitted to visit any of the patients during divine service on Sundays, which was at first the only day on which service was regularly held.

At that period, and for long afterwards, there was no

chapel within the building, but a portion of one of the wards was apparently set aside for religious purposes, for we read that three guineas were paid for "curing the chimney in Chapell Ward from smoaking"; and later on, sand was provided "for the chappel part of King's Ward only."

February 11,
1735-6
November 1,
1738

Signs are not wanting that the chaplain's ministrations were not at all times too favourably received by the patients, and it became necessary for the Board to give him its support. For instance, it was ordered that the patients should pay all due regard to the officiating minister, and in case of misbehaviour to him, or otherwise, the matron was instructed to keep back their allowance for dinner for the first offence. A similar penalty for misbehaviour was in later years suggested to the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital—*i.e.*, suspension of diet at the discretion of the steward, which, in the opinion of Sir Erasmus Wilson,¹ was very properly negatived by the Board.

Probably efforts were made to avoid attending divine service on Sundays, to obviate which it was ordered that no patient should be allowed on any pretence whatever to go out of the gates of the hospital on the Lord's Day. Visitors were forbidden to visit the patients on that day except by permission of the matron, and somewhat later all the servants were required to attend service as often as possible, especially on Sundays (so that by this later date, weekday services had April 22,
1737 been instituted), when they were not to be absent, except on extraordinary occasions to be allowed by the minister.

Further regulations ordered that all strangers who did not attend service should go out of the house at ten on Sunday mornings; that the street door should be locked, and the key brought in to the matron; and that one of the servants by

¹ Wilson, *History of the Middlesex Hospital*, 1845, p. 5.

rotation should wait to prevent any person from entering the house till the service was over, unless for urgent reasons. On the other hand, the minister was authorized to perform any part of his office any morning after eleven, except Mondays and Fridays, and any afternoon which he might find convenient, and that, at such time, some servant or patient appointed by him should stand outside the door to keep other persons from entering, except in urgent circumstances, to be signified by the matron or apothecary in person. All workmen and others employed in the house were ordered to cease working or making any noise so as to disturb the minister, who was permitted to bring persons of either sex into any ward to join in divine service, but only so long as he was present.

It is evident that, previous to 1744, service was held regularly on Sundays in Chapel Ward, which was part of King's, and on other occasions in the other wards, as might be convenient, until the rebuilding of the central portion of the hospital in that year ; after which a chapel was provided inside the building at the suggestion and expense of the Right Hon. Edward Southwell, one of the trustees. This chapel was over the Board-room, and was furnished with a wainscot desk of the same pattern as that in King Street Chapel, St. James's ;¹ while somewhat later a curtain of green serge was provided for the window over the pulpit.

December 6,
1744

Previous to 1749 patients dying in the hospital had been buried in the graveyard belonging to the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, by arrangement with the parochial authorities ; but, in consequence of representations from the vestry, a piece of land at Brompton was purchased in that year by the Governors for use as a burial-ground, and the Rev. Thomas

¹ This was the chapel of ease in King Street, Golden Square, parish of St. James, Westminster, which was built in 1702 at the expense of Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury (Seymour, 661).

Hinton was engaged to bury them at a salary of £20 per annum. This office he held until April, 1754, when the Rev. — Dimsdale was elected to succeed him. In 1752 Mr. Fraser desired and obtained from the Board leave of absence in order to go to Bath for the recovery of his health; but early in 1755 he gave notice of his impending resignation, which actually occurred on April 11 following.

The chaplain did not at present reside in the hospital, and Mr. Fraser was living in Half-Moon Street, whence his letter of resignation was addressed. Therein he desired the Governors "to provide some other person for the duties of that office, as the state of his health was such that he did not expect to be well enough to attend again in that capacity." A vote of thanks was accorded to him "for his careful discharge of the duty of chaplain for many years," it was ordered "that a clergyman of the Church of England be provided to perform the duties of chaplain *pro tem.*," and the services of the Rev. Richard Elliot were retained at an annual salary of £50 without residence. Mr. Fraser died September 13, 1756 (*Gent.'s Magazine*).

In the Middle Ages the healing art was the almost exclusive monopoly of priests and monks, until with the twelfth century came those oft-repeated Papal decrees forbidding the superior clergy to undertake any medical treatment at all, and allowing the inferior orders to practise only so long as they abstained from all surgical operations, and especially from the use of the cautery and the knife. By compliance with these edicts all external wounds and injuries were eliminated from the practice of the clergy of every degree, and were consigned to their attendants, the barbers. To them the practice of surgery was confirmed by charter in 1461, and it was not until nearly a century later (1540) that the Company of Surgeons, struggling for recognition, if not for very exist-

Physicians
Surgeons,
and Apothecaries

ence, amalgamated with their more prosperous, if intellectually inferior, colleagues, to become a component part of the United Company of Barber-Surgeons.

In 1511 the first medical Act was passed giving to the Bishops the supervision of the art of medicine, including surgery, and empowering them to examine and license practitioners throughout the realm. A few years later the College of Physicians was founded by Royal Charter, and to it was granted a monopoly of medical practice in London and within seven miles, together with the sole power of licensing in physic (saving that of the Universities) and in surgery (equally with the Bishop of each respective diocese and the United Company within the City of London). By this charter the physicians secured for themselves that supremacy over the healing art previously wielded by the Church, a supremacy of which evidence exists even in the present day.

But the seventeenth century witnessed the evolution of another body of practitioners, whom the public, disregarding collegiate rights and restrictions, found it expedient to employ, since they combined in themselves a knowledge of the several branches of medicine.

In 1616 the apothecaries, hitherto amalgamated with the Grocers, procured a charter for themselves, and with it the monopoly of the compounding and sale of the medicines prescribed by the physicians. For a time they threw in their lot with their paymasters, and in the same way that, in the twelfth century, the priest-physicians had been compelled by Papal edicts to resign the practice of surgery to their dependents, the barbers; so the physicians of the seventeenth century, in consequence of their very small number, delegated to their subordinates, who were their apothecaries, the less lucrative and less important of their patients.

Gradually the apothecaries began to prescribe for the public

the medicines which they had previously only compounded ; until, in the time of the Plague, the College physicians, with two or three exceptions, having fled from London, the apothecaries, being applied to for assistance, grasped the opportunity of tending the sick as their general practitioners. After the return of the physicians, the apothecaries, continuing this practice, fell under the ban of the College, which forbade its members to consult with unqualified persons, and pointed out that apothecaries were not entitled to prescribe even for slight diseases, on the ground that if they did for one complaint they would for all, and would thereby be discouraging the faculty of physic, depriving the gentry of a profession by which their younger sons might honourably subsist, and be a great detriment to the Universities.

To obviate the difficulties caused by the small number of regular physicians, the College enjoined upon its members to give advice to the poor gratis, and obliged each member to visit and prescribe for the sick poor of the neighbourhood in which he resided at their own lodgings. But the intention was defeated by the excessive charges for physic which were asked by the apothecaries, who refused to reduce their prices to the poor.

It was the opposition thus established between the physicians and the apothecaries which suggested to the former the scheme of retaliation whereby the College, jealous of the invasion of their prerogatives, decided to oppose the apothecaries in their own lawful province the sale of medicines.

The establishment of the College Dispensary, where medicine was provided at one-third of the price charged by the apothecaries, was the culmination of a struggle which resulted in the habilitation of the apothecary as the general practitioner of all but the wealthiest, and which, by creating

a demand for someone to compound medicines to the outside public, evolved the modern chemist and druggist.

Meanwhile, in 1703, the apothecaries procured for themselves the legal decision which entitled them to visit, prescribe, and compound medicines for their patients, so long as they made no charge for their advice, remuneration for which they obtained by increasing the price and quantity of the medicine supplied to the patient. The Act of 1815 at length removed this disability, since which date the apothecaries have been established by law as general practitioners, with powers equal to those of the highest qualifications.

In 1724 the Dispensary closed its doors, and the physicians, still numbering less than 100, even when including the then newly established grade of *Permissi* (Licentiates), resigned themselves to the position created by the case of *Rose v. The College of Physicians*, and did not disdain to curry favour with the apothecaries who could put business in their way.

To utilize their time to the best advantage, instead of visiting the houses of the less wealthy, they adopted the practice of remaining at home to see those who wished to consult them, and of attending at coffee-houses at stated hours to give advice to the apothecaries, who placed before them the particulars of each case, and frequently brought with them samples of their patients' urine. For a fee of 10s. 6d., half the ordinary charge, it was usual for the physician to give his prescription in these cases.

Before the Restoration he had visited his patients on horseback, sitting sideways on a foot-cloth like a woman; but with the gaiety of Charles II's Court, the carriage and pair came into fashion, and in the time of Anne a chariot and six, or at least four, horses was the rule.

Clad in a silken coat, breeches, and stockings, buckled shoes, lace ruffles, and a well-powdered wig, he carried a

cane, long as a footman's stick, smooth and varnished, with a gold knob (or cross-bar) at the top, which knob contained the vinaigrette to be held to the nose, to protect him from the noxious exhalations of his patient. Such was the fashionable physician of the time when St. George's Hospital was established near Hyde Park Corner.

Meanwhile the surgeon had been steadily improving his position, though the physician was still his social and professional superior. In hospital practice it was the physician who examined all the applicants, diagnosed their ailments, and decided which were suitable for admission. It was he who handed over to the surgeon those cases which required his aid, and he alone reported to the weekly Board the particulars of each patient admitted or discharged. Among the surgeons themselves there were degrees of social status, the Mr. of the ordinary surgeon comparing unfavourably with the Esq., which was the prerogative of the Serjeant-Surgeon, those attached to the households of the lesser members of the Royal Family, and those who held appointments to the Forces.

Largely owing to the efforts of Cheselden, the surgeons had so far raised themselves in public estimation that in 1745 their union with the Barbers' Company was dissolved, they procured a charter for themselves, and were eventually incorporated by a later charter as the Royal College of Surgeons.

In order to attain to any great professional eminence in the eighteenth century, it was necessary to procure either some political or religious interest, or the patronage of someone in power. Each prominent physician had to make choice of Batson's or Child's Coffee-house as his house of call, and in doing so declared his political proclivities. Radcliffe and Friend owed their success to the Tories and Jacobites; Mead and Hulse theirs to the Whigs. Indeed, historians

have credited Mead with having played a very important part in assisting the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, though his initial success was due to the influence of the Dissenters who composed his father's congregation, as Schomberg's was due to that of the Jews, and Fothergill's to the Quakers. St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals were both under the guidance and government of Dissenters and Whigs, as St. Bartholomew's and Bedlam under that of the Tories ; while the early voluntary hospitals, although dominated by Protestant principles, appear to have been non-political.

But in addition to party influence, the patronage of one of the leaders of the profession was generally necessary to anyone aspiring to an appointment upon the staff of a hospital ; and it is not surprising to find that at least two of the six physicians appointed to St. George's were protégés of the most eminent physician of the time, Sir Hans Sloane, one of the Governors.

The Medical Staff At the first general Board, Drs. Teissier, Stuart, and Wasey, to whom were added Drs. Broxolme, Burton, and Ross, were elected physicians ; and, in consideration of their services being gratuitous, it was agreed that no more should be added to their number without their consent.

The three first-named, apparently the master minds of the secession from Westminster, had all held similar appointments at that infirmary, which they had vacated by resignation ; and in all probability Dr. Ross owed his election to the fact that he had taken charge of certain patients there during the absence of Dr. Stuart.

Drs. Broxolme and Burton were among the earliest subscribers to, and promoters of, the new institution ; others being Sloane, Mead, Pellett, Arbuthnot, James Douglass, John Hollins, and Edward Hody, the last-named of whom

is stated erroneously by Munk to have held the office of physician to St. George's.

The advanced age of Sloane, Mead, and Pellett, and the ill-health of Arbuthnot, negatived their acceptance of office; while Douglass had won distinction as an obstetrician and an anatomist, rather than as a pure physician. But although they did not join the staff, the publication of their names as supporters and promoters of the charity was undoubtedly of great assistance in procuring subscriptions and benefactions. That this was recognized by the Board is evidenced by an order directing that the names of the faculty with their professional titles, should be inserted in the list of contributors.

Each of the six physicians having agreed to serve without fee or reward, and having subscribed five guineas and given an equal amount as a benefaction, was elected a trustee or Governor.

At the two chartered hospitals, as also at Guy's, the physicians, two in number, were each paid a salary of £40, the receipt of which incapacitated them from being Governors.

The election of so many as six physicians on a hospital staff was without precedent, for at none of the then existing institutions were there more than three physicians on the active list. It may have been that the absence of salary, removing any necessity for economy, suggested to the Governors that, considering the situation of Lanesborough House, which was beyond the limits of the town—at that date bounded by the Clarges St. Turnpike—it was well to make a wider distribution of the time involved in long journeys, especially bearing in mind the early hours of attendance. Or it may have been the intention of the promoters to stamp St. George's with a specially medical character, as conversely the founders of the London Hospital a few years later decided to make surgery

the predominant feature of that institution. We shall see, however, that, although by 1744 the accommodation, and consequently the staff requirements, had been much increased by the additions to the building, the physicians had been reduced to four, and, as if the institution was acquiring, if it had not already acquired, a surgical character, the surgeons had been increased to the same number. The latter suggestion is supported by the following statement extracted from the counterblast of the three surgeons in the Hunterian controversy, dated May 27, 1793: "Comparing the course of improvement adopted by the different hospitals with our own, *which has been hitherto chirurgical*," etc.¹ And there was good reason why the surgical character should be cultivated in days when the education of a surgeon consisted of seven years' apprenticeship, with one or (at most) two years "walking the hospital" as a pupil, for the preference of students was naturally given to those institutions where the largest number of operations were performed, and where the facilities for obtaining surgical knowledge were greatest. And it must not be forgotten that there was a personal reason, inasmuch as the only emolument of the voluntary hospital surgeons was derived from the fees of those apprentices and pupils whom they could attract.²

As if to demonstrate to the public their desire to smooth over the irritation caused by the secession, at one of the first meetings the Governors decided that the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries who might be appointed to serve the hospital should not be precluded thereby from giving their assistance, when required, "to the other society in the low part of Westminster."

The physicians were at the same time requested to formu-

November
2, 1733

¹ Paget's *Hunter*, p. 216.

² Macilwain's *Abernethy*, pp. 286-7.

late rules and arrangements for the examination and admission of patients, the attendance of the medical and surgical staff, and the compilation of a hospital pharmacopœia.

The rules relating to the physicians were as follows :

January 4,
1733-4

1. That each physician shall receive the patients weekly by rotation in the order following : Dr. Alexander Stuart, January 1. Dr. William Wasey, 4th. Dr. Noel Broxolme, 11th. Dr. Simon Burton, 18th. Dr. David Ross, 25th.

2. That Friday morning at nine o'clock be the time for receiving and examining all patients ; and that Dr. Ross be desired to attend at the said time in order to join in examination and consultation with each of the other four physicians on their respective days.

3. That there be a general visitation and examination of the in- and out-patients every Monday morning at nine o'clock, when all the above physicians are to attend and prescribe for their respective patients, each physician to carry the patients received by him through the whole of their cure.

4. That each physician shall attend every Thursday in order to visit such of his patients as may want his assistance, and that at any hour which shall be most convenient for him ; and shall leave with the apothecary of the house a list of such of the out- and in-patients as shall be fit to be discharged, in order to be laid before the Board immediately upon their meeting.

5. That the receiving physician shall every Friday morning visit all such patients as shall stand in need of immediate assistance, though they be not his own patients.

6. That for the dispatch of the out-patients, as well as the quick delivery of medicines, such general medicines of the pharmacopœia as can easily be made up into doses shall be so made up and put into a basket appointed for that purpose,

to be immediately delivered; and in case of any extem poraneous prescription, the same shall be made up and delivered without loss of time.

7. That tickets be prepared with the name of each physician, to be fixed upon the several beds of their respective patients.

The receiving day was shortly afterwards altered to Wednesday, the general visitation day to Saturday, and the reporting day to Tuesday; and it was further resolved—

That each physician is to visit any of his patients at other times, as often as he shall think it necessary or shall have notice of such necessity sent him by the apothecary (who was the only resident medical officer).

That the physicians shall open all the recommendatory letters, whether the Board be sitting or not, and shall write out at the bottom of each letter the patient's case.

And to meet the convenience of the physicians it was ordered that all in- and out-patients were to be present on Saturdays until eleven o'clock, and that no in-patient was to be allowed out on Tuesdays before two o'clock.

To show how the customs of hospital practice have changed with the times, no physician appears to have been appointed to St. Bartholomew's till 1561 at the earliest (no mention is made of such till 1567), nor at St. Thomas's till 1566—some years after each hospital had been opened. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the physicians had no patients under their sole care; they prescribed for those who were brought to them by the surgeon, but only in emergency did they visit the wards—in short, they were apparently only consultants. The surgeon, on the other hand, had the responsibility of the care and treatment of all the patients

and of the general management of the hospital, and it is certain that within the hospital walls—as later in the work-house infirmaries—the distinction between the two branches of the profession was not regarded then as it was later. As time went on, instead of sitting to prescribe only once a week, as was the original custom, the physicians were required to do so three times weekly; but it was not until about 1730 that they went round the wards every week with the surgeons and apothecary, and that the custom was established of admitting patients under the physician's sole charge. By that date the early position had been reversed, for whereas each patient was admitted by the physician of the week, whose name was inscribed on a ticket over each bed occupied, that physician was responsible for the treatment during the whole of the cure, he alone reported to the Board as to the nature of the disease, and decided when the patient was fit to be discharged. The surgeon's aid was only requisitioned for those cases requiring surgical aid, he being prohibited by the regulations from prescribing any internal medicines except mercurial physic and purges.

It appears to have been the general course for those in-patients, who were able to do so, to go down to the physicians' room on the ground floor for examination and prescription, after which each physician visited his other patients in the wards. On the receiving day the applicants for admission attended at the physicians' room, in which a desk was fitted at each end to prevent them as much as possible from hearing each other's examination; and the physician of the week, together with the junior physician, decided whether they should be in- or out-patients, their decision being subsequently submitted to the supervisory committee of the Board for ratification. On the general visitation day the physician and surgeon of the week led

the way round the wards, all the rest of the staff, medical and surgical, being in attendance ; and it is probably such an occasion as this which is depicted in an engraving by Pine after Gravelot which embellishes the First Annual Report of the Winchester County Hospital (1736-7).

It shows the interior of a male ward, one of the inmates of which is being bled by a surgeon, behind whom stands his apprentice holding a basin. Looking on is the chaplain in long black gown, bands, and a clerical broad-brimmed hat, and by his side a physician, also in hat and wig, holding his gold-headed cane, and addressing a patient, who is seated in a high-backed chair, and whose leg is being dressed. The patient's expression denotes pain, and he is stretching out his hand as if to restrain the surgeon from hurting him. Several others, one on crutches, are awaiting their turns, and each is wearing a nightcap. On these visits to the wards the surgeons were attended by their apprentices, dressers, and pupils ; but, in spite of Dr. Page's statement that the physicians as well as the surgeons at St. George's were permitted by the laws of the hospital to have pupils, in these early days the latter were all surgical, though doubtless they availed themselves of the opportunity of observing the treatment prescribed by the physicians.

March 31,
1735

The first inkling of impending changes in the medical staff is afforded fifteen months after the opening of the hospital, when it was resolved that a special Court should be summoned to choose three physicians. At that time Dr. Addison Hutton was acting as a substitute in the absence of one of the ordinary physicians, and he then and there applied to the Board for appointment to one of the impending vacancies. A fortnight later it was reported to the Governors that a rumour had been circulated that, in consequence of the interference of the surgeons in the business of the physicians,

disputes had arisen between them. The truth of the rumour was denied, but the jealousy between the two branches of the profession was then so violent that even considerations of interest failed in some cases to induce eminent physicians and surgeons to act together; and it is more than likely that, in spite of the denial, some such quarrel had occurred. The fact remains that at the special Court held April 28, 1735, Drs. Charles Peters, John Baillie, and Benjamin Hoadly were elected to fill three vacancies on the medical staff, caused apparently by the retirement, at some earlier period, of Drs. Teissier, Broxolme, and Burton. No mention of, or reason for, their retirement is recorded, but it appears from the Minutes that Dr. Broxolme had not attended the hospital as one of its physicians since October, 1734, nor Dr. Burton since January, 1734-5.

Although Dr. Teissier heads the list of the physicians appointed at the first General Board, both Drs. Stuart and Wasey had been his seniors at the Westminster Infirmary. His name does not appear upon the rota of acting physicians, and in no single instance does he appear to have reported to the Board; and when, after the first year's work, a vote of thanks was accorded to the medical and surgical staff, he alone was unmentioned, suggesting that before that date (February 6, 1734-5) he had resigned his appointment, although no record of such is found in the Minutes.

It is probable that his attendance upon the Royal Household prevented him from undertaking the duties of the office which he had accepted at St. George's (see his biographical memoir on a later page), and that although his services were not available, it was deemed politic to retain his name upon the list of the staff, and secure the support and influence derived from his distinguished position.

In July, 1736, Dr. Alexander Stuart, the senior physician

and prime mover in the secession from Westminster, tendered his resignation—no reason for which is given in the Minutes—and a vote of thanks was accorded him for his great service to the charity. Dr. Addison Hutton was desired to undertake temporarily the duties of that office, and in the following

October 22,
1736

October, he being proposed as physician in the room of Dr. Stuart, and "his character and abilities being well known, having officiated for some time past, upon a ballot he was unanimously chosen, and thereupon called in and acquainted therewith, which he accepted in a handsome manner." No further change occurred in the medical staff for nearly six years, and even then, in the absence of any mention in the Minutes, our only information is derived from extraneous records chronicling the deaths of Dr. Hutton on March 30, 1742, and of Dr. Baillie on January 4, 1743-4, the latter being described as "Physician to the English Army in Flanders, and late of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, but now in the City of Ghent in Flanders, M.D." Whether they had resigned at some dates previous to those of their respective deaths, and whether Baillie had obtained leave from the Board to go on foreign service, as Middleton did in the succeeding month, we are left in ignorance. All we know is that the vacancies were not filled, probably in consequence of a resolution of April 10, 1741, reducing the medical and surgical staff to three of each profession as vacancies should arise, which resolution was repealed three years later. It was a good opportunity to reduce the number of the staff in accordance with the above resolution, and thenceforward there were only four physicians on the establishment.

December
6, 1744

In April, 1745, Dr. William Wasey gave notice that he was obliged to resign in consequence of his private business, and a vote of thanks was accorded him "for his punctual and diligent attendance on the patients of this hospital." He

was one of the six original physicians, of whom, after his resignation, only Dr. Ross remained, and he had served the hospital for twelve years. The Board proceeded unanimously ^{April 27, 1745} to elect Dr. Ambrose Dawson in his stead.

On the first of January following Dr. Peters resigned his appointment, probably in consequence of ill-health, and the thanks of the Board were given him "for his kind attendance." There being two candidates for the vacancy, a ballot was taken, in which Dr. John Thomas Batt secured 111 votes, and Dr. Daniel Cox, who was appointed afterwards to the Middlesex Hospital, 53; whereupon the former was declared to be elected.

Again, in February, 1750-1, a vacancy occurred in consequence of the resignation of Dr. Hoadly, after fifteen years' service. On the 15th of that month Dr. Ross reported that "Dr. Hoadly desires to thank the Governors of this hospital for the honour they have always done him, and begs to resign the office of one of their physicians; at the same time he desires to assure them of the continuance of his good offices to promote the charity to the utmost of his power." It was thereupon ordered unanimously "that the thanks of this Court be given to Dr. Hoadly, and that Dr. Ross be desired to signify the same to him, and also to express their concern at the loss of so able and worthy a physician, and for his long and careful attendance." The son of the Bishop of Winchester celebrated for the Bangorian controversy, he was appointed physician to St. George's in 1735, probably by means of his father's influence as a Vice-President of the hospital; and in the following year he accepted a similar office at the Westminster Infirmary, which latter he resigned in 1746. It appears to have been the general custom—if not, as at the Middlesex, the standing rule—that appointment to the staff of one hospital involved the

vacation of office at any other. Certainly Cheselden, as a specialist, cut for stone concurrently at St. Thomas's, Westminster, and St. George's; but the only early instances which have come to the writer's notice of any physician or surgeon in ordinary who held contemporaneous appointments at more than one hospital for the sick are those of Benjamin Hoadly, as explained above, and of William Bromfield, of St. George's, who was at the same time surgeon to the Lock Hospital, then in Grosvenor Place. Conversely, Thomas Gataker and Sir Richard Jebb both resigned their appointments at the Westminster on election to the staff of St. George's.

Apparently for the first time, the vacancy in the medical staff was advertised in the public Press (*Daily Advertiser*, February 15, 1750-1), and in due course Dr. John Clephane was unanimously elected. In 1756 the medical staff consisted of—

March 8,
1750-1

Dr. Ross, who had held office for 22 years.					
Dr. Dawson	"	"	"	11	"
Dr. Batt	"	"	"	10	"
Dr. Clephane	"	"	"	5	"

A list of the physicians from the establishment of the hospital follows, together with their biographies. It has been the author's endeavour to devote particular attention to those who have not been deemed worthy to occupy a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, so that they may perchance find inclusion in a subsequent edition; for it is somewhat remarkable that Drs. Teissier and Stuart, both of whom achieved some eminence and the distinction of holding Royal appointments, are not so included.

PHYSICIANS.

Elected.	Name.	Vacated.
October 19, 1733	Teissier, George Lewis	<i>ante April, 1735.</i> Resigned
"	Stuart, Alexander	July 9, 1736. Resigned
"	Wasey, William	April 6, 1745. Private business
"	Broxolme, Noel	<i>ante April, 1735.</i> Resigned
"	Burton, Simon	<i>ante April, 1735.</i> Resigned
"	Ross, David	(1757)
April 28, 1735	Peters, Charles	January 9, 1745-6. Resigned
"	Baillie, John	[Died January 4, 1743-4]
"	Hoadly, Benjamin	February 15, 1750-1. Resigned
October 22, 1736	Hutton, Addison	[Died, March 30, 1742]
April 27, 1745	Dawson, Ambrose	(1760)
February 7, 1745-6	Batt, John Thomas	(1762)
March, 8, 1750-1	Clephane, John	(1758)

George Lewis Teissier, M.D. (whose name is frequently misspelt Tessier), was, according to Munk, a foreigner who had obtained an Act of naturalization. Of his parentage nothing is recorded. He was a Doctor of Medicine of Leyden, November 3, 1710; his thesis being entitled, *De substantia corticosa ac medullosa cerebri.* He was appointed Physician to the Household of George I, March 5, 1715-16; was admitted F.R.C.P. London, April 17, 1720; and F.R.S. November 10, 1725. In 1728 he was elected physician to Westminster Hospital—then known as the Westminster Infirmary in Petty France—which had been instituted by public subscription in 1719; but this appointment he resigned in 1733, on being chosen one of the six

Biographies
of Physi-
cians

George
Lewis
Teissier,
M.D.

physicians to St. George's at the first general Board held October 19, 1733. His name appears first on the list of those six physicians, though Drs. Stuart and Wasey had both been his seniors at Westminster; and when the rota of acting physicians was formulated, Dr. Teissier's name was omitted. It is certain that he never reported to the Board as one of the physicians, and it is probable that his attendance at Court prevented his fulfilment of the duties which he had undertaken at St. George's. The first subscription list was entrusted to his keeping, and there is little doubt that his influence with Royalty and the aristocracy was such that the presence of his name upon the staff was regarded as likely to be of great benefit to the hospital. There, so far as can be ascertained, his labours ended. No record is preserved of his resignation; but, on April 28, 1735, the three vacancies on the medical staff, caused apparently by the retirement of Drs. Teissier, Broxolme, and Burton, were filled by Drs. Peters, Baillie, and Hoadly.

Among the Sloane MSS. there are twenty letters from Teissier to Sloane, dated between 1720 and 1736. Besides asking Sloane's advice and opinion on several occasions, Teissier reiterates again and again the respect and gratitude he feels for the generous friendship and numberless favours and obligations he has received. "I can never forget your favours the longest day I live"; "I would not have you think that I can ever through neglect be wanting in the respect due to so worthy and generous a friend as you have always been to me"; "you have a right to be attended (at an interview with Queen Caroline at St. James's Palace) by your most obedient humble servant to command."

Teissier was evidently one of Sloane's protégés, and there is good reason to suppose that it was through Sloane's interest that he obtained his appointment to the Royal

Household in 1715-6. As early as 1728 Teissier was in attendance on the Princess Amelia at Bath. In 1729 he was with Sloane in consultation at Kensington Palace, and afterwards with Friend at St. James's. In November, 1733, he was called to consult with Dr. Hollings upon the Prince of Orange, who had come to England to marry the Princess Royal, and was seized with an inflammatory fever, which caused a postponement of the wedding. In December a consultation was arranged between Sloane, Teissier, Hollings, and "Dr. Vansyttat (*sic*), one of the Prince's physicians from Friesland"; and a messenger was dispatched to the famous Boerhaave at Leyden with particulars of His Highness's case. The Prince was then removed from Somerset House to Kensington Palace "for the air"; and in January, 1733-4, we find Teissier with him at Bath, where he was "mending daily." Later in that month Teissier was back in town, this being just after St. George's had been opened.

In April, May, and June, 1734, he was at Bath in attendance upon the Princess Amelia, and again in the following September and October. Shortly after this he left for The Hague to attend the Princess Royal in her accouchement, and he was still there in March, 1734-5. In April, 1736, he was in attendance upon Queen Caroline at St. James's Palace, and here the correspondence with Sloane ceases; but Teissier is said to have attended Her Majesty in her last illness (1738), when Dr. Broxolme was called in to assist him.

In 1739 he was gazetted Physician-in-Ordinary to George II, and in 1740 physician to Chelsea College, in the room of Dr. Smart, deceased.

He died May 22, 1742, unmarried, and his estate was administered in the following September by his sister and

next-of-kin, Ann Louisa Mamoborn Teissier, then residing at Zell, in Germany.

Neither portrait nor bookplate of Dr. Teissier is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—Munk's *Roll*, ii, 69; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1739, 1740, 1742 (obit.); *Sloane MSS.*; P.C.C., *Admon. Act Book, Trenley*, 1742, September.

Alexander
Stuart, M.D.

Alexander Stuart, M.D., was a Scotsman, of whom the earliest information comes to hand from the Sloane MSS., among which are several letters, which may be divided into two periods—1701-6, and 1725-40. From the first of these we learn that Stuart (then aged twenty-eight) was sailing on a trading-ship—the *London*—for the East via Madeira, the Cape of Good Hope, and Fort St. George (where he arrived five months after leaving England), Bengala, and thence to Malacca. He was back in the Humber in 1704, whence he sailed again for Persia, Surat, Bombay, and Mala-bar, and then on to Borneo and China. In these letters he mentions specimens and curiosities which he had procured for Sloane, to whom he acknowledges his gratitude and thanks.¹ Forsaking a seafaring life at the age of thirty-six, he was entered on the physic line at Leyden, December 14, 1709, and graduated M.D. there June 22, 1711, his thesis being entitled *De structura et motu musculari*, subsequently published in London, 4to, 1738.

He was appointed physician to the Westminster Hospital on its institution in 1719, which office he resigned upon his election as one of the original six physicians on the staff

¹ The latter series of letters possess little interest except to show that he was in frequent communication with Sloane, who probably gave him the influence necessary to obtain his Court appointment.

of St. George's, October 19, 1733. This last appointment he relinquished July 9, 1736, being then sixty-three years of age. He was admitted a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, London, June 25, 1720, and eight years later, having been created M.D., Cantab., *comitiis regiis*, and Physician-in-Ordinary to Queen Caroline, he was in that capacity admitted a Fellow of the College, September 2, 1728.

He was Censor in 1732 and 1741, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. He received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society for his researches into the structure and action of muscle, and on the publication of his Dissertation he was awarded a prize by the Academy of Bordeaux. He was the author of several papers, which are included in the Philosophical Transactions, a review of which is to be found in Portal (iv, 490), and some additional treatises (among which were some lectures on plants, which would appear to have been published in 1739, but of which no copy has been discovered), which are mentioned in his will.

It is stated (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1742, p. 275) that in May, 1742, he was gazetted Physician-in-Ordinary to the King, an appointment unrecorded elsewhere. He died on September 15 of that year. Neither bookplate nor portrait of Dr. Stuart is known to exist, and, so far as can be discovered, he was the author of no published work except his Dissertation. On the back of one of his letters is a seal bearing—Arms: *A fesse chequy between three coronets; on an inescutcheon a lion rampant, the field replenished with annulets.* Crest: *A demilion rampant, holding in his forepaw a cross crosslet fitché.*

By means of his will it becomes possible to throw some further light upon Stuart's career. In August, 1742, being then weak in body (and sixty-nine years of age), he made a

will, wherein he mentions that, by an indenture dated 1727, he had made over all his property to his wife, only reserving to himself certain manuscripts, which latter he now leaves in trust to one Henry Baker, who from the profits of their publications shall pay various debts named. These debts were, for the most part, incurred by borrowing money, which he invested and lost in the South Sea Scheme, which money he had been unable to repay in full. The sum of £300 was owing to Mr. Mitchell, apothecary, of Pall Mall, and represented the amount of fourteen years' lodging at his house, "which," the testator says, "the great burden of South Sea debt hindered me to discharge; but I have paid him interest since I left his house, sixteen years ago." Dr. Stuart must have taken up his residence there on his return from Leyden, and only vacated after his marriage, about 1726-7.

In a codicil dated September 2, 1742, he gives further instructions respecting the publication of certain of his manuscripts, some of which are to be dedicated to the King, others to the Prince of Wales; and he begs towards such publication by subscription the assistance of his friends, Drs. Mead, Mortimer, Parsons, Ross (of St. George's), and Professor Ward. Sloane, be it noted, was still alive, but is not included. He also gives special instructions regarding a manuscript on electricity, in French and English, which he desires shall be published in each language, if Dr. Mead and Mr. Baker think it worthy, and in such case it is to be dedicated to Drs. Mead and Wilmot. All his microscopical and other instruments, with his drawings and prints, he orders to be sold to pay his debts. He makes his wife residuary legatee, appoints as executors Henry Baker, Esq., and the Rev. Hugh Fraser, Chaplain to St. George's Hospital, and is himself described as of the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury.

His executors renouncing, administration was granted to his widow, Susannah, whose maiden name was probably Wishaw, whom he married in or about January, 1725, and who owned property in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden.

REFERENCES.—*Gent. Mag.*, 1742, pp. 275, 499 (obit.); Portal, *Hist. de l'Anatomie*, iv, 490; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 109; *Sloane MSS.*; P.C.C., 23, *Boycott*.

William Wasey, M.D., the only son of William Wasey, attorney, of Brunstead, co. Norfolk, and Bridget Durrant, was born in that village in 1691. At his father's death he became possessed of property in various manors in the neighbourhood, much of which had belonged to his family for some generations. He was educated for five years at Norwich Grammar School, and was admitted a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, November 2, 1708. He was a scholar of the college from Michaelmas, 1708 to 1715, and graduated B.A. in 1712, and M.A. in 1716. Proceeding to Leyden, he was entered on the physic line there October 1, 1716, but returned to England, and graduated M.D. at Cambridge in 1723. He was admitted a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians December 23, 1723, and a Fellow December 22, 1724. He was Censor of the College in 1731, 1736, 1739, and 1748, was named an Elect August 30, 1746, and was Consiliarius in 1749 and 1754. On the death of Dr. Jurin he was elected President, April 2, 1750, and was reappointed in each of the four subsequent years. Upon his retirement the college presented him with four silver candlesticks, each in the form of a female figure nude to the waist, the arm supporting a flower-shaped sconce on the head. Each has a triangular base, on one side of which are the arms of the college, and on the other those of Wasey: *Or, on a cross sa. between four ermine spots five bezants.* Crest: *A falcon rising*

William
Wasey, M.D.

or, beaked, membered and collared sa., belled of the first; the collar charged with three bezants. These candlesticks are still in the possession of his descendants.

Dr. Wasey was chosen Physician to Westminster Infirmary at its establishment in 1719, but resigned his office there in 1733, when he seceded to St. George's, and was one of the six physicians appointed to the staff October 19, 1733. This appointment he vacated April 6, 1745, by resignation, in consequence of private business affairs, when he was awarded a vote of thanks by the Board.

He married Margaret, second daughter of Gilbert Spearman, Esq., of Thornley and Bishop Middleham, co. Durham, and left an only son, William John Spearman Wasey, who was a Colonel in the Guards, and Silverstick to George III. Family tradition, of which no verification has been found, states that Dr. Wasey was Physician to George II, though his son's appointment at Court tends to support its probability. At the time of his marriage, about 1730, he was described as "of Gerrard Street, Soho," and there he continued to reside until his death, on April 1, 1757, in which year his will was proved and his library sold at auction. In his will, dated May 17, 1753, he leaves thirty guineas to his friend and cousin, William Greenaway, attorney at Norwich; to his daughter Margaret Wasey and her heirs for ever all his plate and silver utensils and such books as she might choose from his library, not more than sixty, and £8,000 in addition to the £2,000 settled upon her (this £10,000 to be the first charge on his estate); to his son before-mentioned all the remainder of his estate real and personal after payment of legacies and debts. His daughter was sole executrix, and his cousin, William Greenaway, guardian and trustee for his son until twenty-one. The witnesses were E. Hulse, W. Browne, and M. Dawson, and the will was proved in

London April 13, 1757, by his daughter, Margaret Wasey, spinster.

Dr. Wasey is not recognized as the author of any published work, and neither book-plate nor portrait of him is known to exist.

REFERENCES.—D.N.B.; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 89; P.C.C., 142, *Herring*; family information.

Noel Broxolme, M.D., whose name is generally misspelt Broxholme, was the son of Robert Broxolme, of Oakham, co. Rutland, gent. By Munk he is said to have been born in that county; but by Dr. Stukeley, who was his countryman and fellow-student at St. Thomas's, his birthplace is given as Stamford, in co. Lincoln, and he is said to have been of humble origin. In 1700 he was admitted a King's Scholar at Westminster School. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, October 12, 1704, aged eighteen, as a member of which college he proceeded B.A. May 20, 1709, and M.A. April 18, 1711. In 1715 he was elected to one of the first of the Radcliffe travelling fellowships, and, accumulating his degrees, he proceeded Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine at that University in 1723. He had commenced his medical studies in 1709 under the great Mead at St. Thomas's Hospital, and on procuring his degrees he settled in practice in London, and was admitted a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians December 23, 1723, and Fellow March 22, 1724-5. He was Censor in 1726, and delivered the Harveian Oration in 1731. On May 7, 1730, he had married at Knightsbridge Chapel Amie, widow of William Dowdeswell, of Pull Court, co. Worcester, she being the daughter of Anthony Hammond, F.R.S., the poet. In the register he is described as of St. James's, bachelor,

Noel
Broxolme,
M.D.

aged forty, and she of St. Anne's, Westminster, widow. In 1733 he was living in Albemarle Street. He was appointed one of the six physicians to St. George's Hospital at the first general Board, held October 19, 1733, and in the following year he was gazetted Physician to the Prince of Wales, with salary annexed; but vacated the former appointment between October, 1734, and April, 1735, and the latter in 1739. At Lord Hervey's suggestion, he was the first physician summoned to assist Dr. Teissier in Queen Caroline's last illness.

No reason is assigned in the Minutes of St. George's as to the reason for his retirement from the medical staff, but it appears that he did not attend as one of the physicians after October, 1734, though no vacancy was announced until the following March.

Dr. Stukeley says that Broxolme made much money by the Mississippi project in France. Horace Walpole speaks of him as good-natured, but nervous and vapoured, thus preparing us for the news that Broxolme died by his own hand at his country residence at Hampton, July 8, 1748.

In his will he directed that he should be buried where he died. His freehold house in Albemarle Street he had already conveyed to his wife for life, afterwards to her son, George Dowdeswell, himself a physician. To her also he left his copyhold estate at Hampton for life. To each of the places of his education—Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford—he left £500, to be devoted to the benefit of the King's Scholars of the former, and to finishing the library of the latter. All his books in physics he bequeathed to George Dowdeswell. His will is dated February 6, 1748, and was proved July 17 of the same year. His widow survived till 1754, and in her will left everything to her sons, William and George Dowdeswell. Neither book-plate nor portrait of

Dr. Broxolme is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; D.N.B.; *Alumni Westm.*, p. 245; Stukeley's *Memoirs* (Surtees' Society); P.C.C., 205, *Strahan*; 188, *Pinfold*; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 89.

Simon Burton, M.D., was born about 1690, being the eldest son of Humphrey Burton, of Carsley, co. Warwick, gent., by his wife, Judith, daughter of Abraham Coundon, in the same county, clerk. He was educated at Rugby and at New College, Oxford, matriculating January 29, 1706-7, at the age of seventeen, as a member of which he proceeded B.A. November 29, 1710; M.A. May 26, 1714; M.B. April 20, 1716; M.D. July 21, 1720. He practised for some years at Warwick, and then settled in London at Savile Row. He was admitted a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians April 21, 1731; Fellow April 3, 1732; acted as Censor in 1738; and delivered the Harveian Oration in 1740. He was one of the six physicians appointed to the staff of St. George's at the first General Board held October 19, 1733; but this office he relinquished in 1735, for reasons which are unrecorded.

Simon Burton,
M.D.

It appears from contemporary journals that early in June, 1744, he had been gazetted "Royal Physician in Ordinary," and he was one of the physicians who attended Pope in his last illness. On the poet's death, Burton had a controversy with Dr. Thompson, a noted quack; but he survived that event little more than a week, dying at his house in Savile Row June 11, 1744. In his will he leaves in trust for his son, James Burton, then under seventeen, his manors and lands in cos. Warwick, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and the Isle of Wight, and he appoints his brother, John Burton, D.D.,

guardian of his said son. His widow survived him. His will was dated the day upon which he died, and he appears to have been possessed of considerable means.

Neither book-plate nor portrait of Dr. Burton is known to exist, and he was the author of no published work.

REFERENCES.—Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*; D.N.B.; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1744 (obit.); *Gen. Advertiser*, 1744; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 119; P.C.C., 140, *Anstis*.

**David Ross,
M.D.**

David Ross, M.D., of whose early history nothing has been recovered, was, according to Munk, a Doctor of Medicine of Rheims of August 27, 1726, and was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians March 20, 1749. In July, 1731, Dr. Ross was accorded a vote of thanks by the Governors of the Westminster Infirmary for having taken charge of Dr. Stuart's patients during his absence, and it is probable that he was next on the rota for election as physician to that hospital. He was one of the early subscribers to St. George's, and was appointed one of the six physicians at the first General Board October 19, 1733.

In April, 1756, Dr. Ross being in a bad state of health and unable to attend the business of the hospital, it was decided that Dr. Gisborne should be desired to assist Drs. Dawson, Batt, and Clephane during his absence, and it is probable that Dr. Ross did not again resume his duties, as January 7, 1757, he resigned his office on account of ill-health. A vote of thanks was accorded to him, and Dr. Gisborne was asked to continue to attend in his stead *pro tem.* Apparently Munk conceived that Dr. Ross's death was synchronous with his resignation; but that is erroneous, since he died April 14 (or 16), 1759, at Bristol. In 1749 he was living in Leicester Square, in 1750 in Savile Row, and in 1755 in Great Marlborough Street.

In his will he leaves everything to his wife Rebecca, who was the daughter of Dr. John Middleton whom he appointed guardian of his son, John Middleton Ross. He was possessed of a freehold house in Marlborough Street, London, and land at Allerton in Somersetshire. Two of the witnesses to his will were John Clephane and D(avid) Middleton (probably one of his wife's relations), who were doubtless identical with the physician and surgeon of each name to be noticed hereafter as members of the staff of St. George's. Among the subscribers to the hospital in 1743 was a Lieutenant David Ross, of Jamaica, whose subscription, with others from the same island, was paid to the Board by Dr. Ross.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Dr. Ross is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—Musgrave's *Obituary*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1759; *London Mag.*, 1759; P.C.C., 280, *Arran*; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 171.

Charles Peters, M.D., was the son of John Peters, of London, gent. ; was born in 1695, and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, March 31, 1710, proceeding B.A. December 3, 1713, and M.A. June 15, 1724. As a member of University College he was appointed Radcliffe Travelling Fellow July, 1725, and after passing some years on the continent, possibly at Leyden, where he is reputed to have taken his M.D. in 1724, he proceeded M.B. and M.D. Oxon. November 8, 1732. In 1733 he was appointed Physician Extraordinary to the King, and on April 28, 1735, was elected physician to St. George's Hospital, which office he resigned shortly before his death, and probably on account of ill-health, January 9, 1746. On March 27, 1738, he was elected a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians, and April 16, 1739, a Fellow

Charles
Peters,
M.D.

of that College, shortly after which he succeeded Dr. Hollings as Physician-General to the Army. In 1744 he was appointed Censor of the Royal College of Physicians; but on account of indisposition and subsequent removal to the country, Dr. Reeve was appointed his successor in that office April 8, 1745.

The date of his death is not chronicled by Munk; but Musgrave records that a physician of his name died in April, 1746 (the year in which Dr. Peters' name disappears from the College list), while Dr. Wilmot was appointed Physician-General to H.M.'s Land Forces May 6, 1746, "vice Dr. Peters, deceased." In his will, dated April 20, 1744, he is described as of the parish of St. James, Westminster, and he mentions therein his wife Ann, and his brother, the Reverend John Peters. His will was proved in London July 8, 1746, by his widow and sole executrix.

Dr. Peters was the author of only one published work—an edition of Fracastor's *Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus*, 1720—the idea of which publication was due to the encouragement of the learned Mead, who lent him the *editio princeps* of that work printed at Verona in 1530. Dr. Peters' edition was printed by Jonah Bowyer in St. Paul's Churchyard, and contains as a frontispiece a portrait of Fracastorius by George Vertue. It is dedicated to Mead.

In the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. xlivi) is a paper by him, entitled "The Case of a Person bit by a Mad Dog," in which the author advocates the use of warm baths.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Dr. Peters is known to exist, but two letters of his to Sir Hans Sloane are preserved in the British Museum. The first of these is dated February 29, 1736, and expresses his regret at being deprived of an opportunity of returning his thanks to Sloane "for the several good offices for which I think myself indebted to you"—a possible

reference to his appointment to St. George's. The other asks the favour of Sir Hans' company "to dine at the Bedford Head on Saturday, His Majesty's Birthday, at four o'clock." This letter, which is not dated, is addressed from Whitehall, and must have been written in or before 1738, for in the following year he moved his residence to St. James's Place.

REFERENCES.—Munk's *Roll*, ii, 143; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Musgrave's *Obituary*; *London Mag.*, 1746, p. 209; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1746, p. 273; Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*; *Sloane MSS.*; P.C.C., 217, *Edmunds*.

Of John Baillie, M.D., who was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital April 28, 1735, little is recorded in the usual works of reference, his name appearing neither in Munk's *Roll* nor the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The University whence he obtained his degree has eluded search, and his parentage and place of education are alike unknown. From his will we learn that he possessed an estate in North Britain, and that he had an uncle, Bryan Robinson, "Dr. of Physick"; while one of the witnesses thereto was Robert Robinson, gent., of the City of Dublin. These particulars, together with the fact that he was identical with the Dr. John Baillie, Physician to the English Army in Flanders, who died in the City of Ghent on or about January 4, 1743-4, are all that have been ascertained by the present writer. It is possible that he may have been either the Leyden graduate of that name, who, an Irishman, took his degree there (though the faculty is not stated), October 18, 1728; or another, a Scotsmen, who graduated April 9, 1699.

John
Baillie,
M.D.

In his will, dated March 10, 1734, he left his uncle, before-named, sole executor; but, the latter renouncing, administration was granted, February 4, 1743, to Ann, widow and relict

of "John Baillie, late of the parish of St. Ann, Westminster, but in the City of Ghent in Flanders, Doctor in Physick."

It appears from the will of Dr. Clephane that Dr. Baillie was indebted to him in the sum of £50, and from the fact that the former disclaimed any intention of proving the debt, it is probable that Dr. Baillie left scanty provision for his widow.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Dr. Baillie is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—Musgrave's *Obituary*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1744, p. 53; *Scot. Mag.*, 1744, p. 50; *London Mag.*, 1744, p. 49; P.C.C., 28, *Anstis*.

Benjamin
Hoadly,
M.D.

Benjamin Hoadly, M.D.—whose name is frequently misspelt Hoadley—was the eldest son of Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester; was born at Broad Street in the City, February 10, 1705-6, and was educated at Dr. Newcome's school at Hackney. He was entered at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1722, graduated M.B. 1727, and became M.D. *comitiis regiis* April, 1728.

Settling in London, he was elected F.R.S., and April 28, 1735, was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital, which post he resigned February 15, 1750-1, and in 1736 physician to Westminster Hospital, which he resigned in 1746. He became a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians December 22, 1735; Fellow, December 29, 1736; Gulstonian Lecturer, 1737; Censor, 1739; and Harveian Orator, 1742, in which latter year he was gazetted Physician to the King's Household, and in January, 1745-6, to that of the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Hoadly was twice married, his first wife being Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Betts, by whom he had one son,

Benjamin, who predeceased him ; his second wife being Ann, daughter of General Armstrong. His town residence was in Charles Street, St. James's Square ; but he died August 10, 1757, at his house in Chelsea (afterwards Sir Richard Glyn's), which he had built ten years before.

In his will, dated August 7, 1757, he signs himself Benjamin Hoadly, and to his brother, the Rev. John Hoadly, he leaves his freehold estate which his father gave him in co. Sussex. If after the death of widow Betts, his mother-in-law, he should have any interest in the estate in co. Suffolk, belonging to the Betts family, that of his first wife, he leaves all such to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Ann Betts, etc.

To his wife Ann, daughter of the late General Armstrong, he leaves his house, furniture and books therein, in Charles Street, St. James's Square, as also £1,000, his leasehold house and grounds from Lord Cadogan, and his house and garden at Chelsea and all in it, and any interest he might have "in the osier ground adjoining his house and garden in Chelsea," as well as certain "annual profits of the Registrar of the Diocese of Hereford," which require explanation.

His will was proved in London September 9, 1757, by his widow and sole executrix. No book-plate or portrait of our Dr. Hoadly is known to exist, and the work by which he is principally known is a comedy, entitled, *The Suspicious Husband*, published in 1747, and dedicated to George III, who sent the author £100. This play was performed at Covent Garden, Garrick himself appearing in the title-rôle ; but opinions differed as to its worth, being eulogized by one as "one of the best of our comedies," and stigmatized by another as "Hoadly's profligate pantomime."

His younger brother, the Church dignitary and pluralist mentioned in his will, and a great friend of Garrick, may be

remembered as the author of the unkind and unjust criticism on what he termed "Goldsmith's low humour." Besides his comedy, Hoadly published his Gulstonian Lectures *On the Organs of Respiration*, and his Harveian Oration; and in 1756 *Observations on a Series of Electrical Experiments*. He has earned the eulogy of the illustrious Haller as *elegantis ingenii vir, poeta etiam comicus*.

REFERENCES.—Munk's *Roll*; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Musgrave's *Obituary*; *Gent's Mag.*, 1757, p. 386; *London Mag.*, 1757, p. 411; *Biog. Dram.*; *Scot. Mag.*, 1757, p. 438; Davies' *Life of Garrick*; Genest *Hist. Stage*; P.C.C., 274, *Herring*; Haller, *Bib. Anat.*, ii, p. 326; *Sloane MSS.*

Note.—In Munk's *Roll*, ii, 147, it is stated (*in re* Edward Hody, M.D.) that Dr. Hody, who died November 1, 1759, was one of the physicians to St. George's Hospital. This is erroneous, and Hody was probably mistaken for Hoadly.

**Addison
Hutton,
M.D.**

Addison Hutton, M.D., the son of Richard Hutton, of Penrith, armiger, was the last direct male heir of the ancient family of Hutton, of Hutton Hall, Penrith, which derived from Adam de Hoton, living *tempo* Edward I. He was born in 1706, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, November 26, 1724, and graduated B.A. July 5, 1731; M.A., July 4, 1732; M.B., July 8, 1734; M.D., July 8, 1737.

In July, 1736, upon Dr. Stuart's resignation, he was desired to undertake the duties *pro tem.*, and on October 22 following he was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital, which appointment he held until his death, whereas each of the earlier physicians who had vacated the appointment had done so by resignation.

On September 30, 1737, he was elected a Candidate, and September 30, 1738, a Fellow, of the Royal College of

Physicians, and F.R.S. in 1737. In 1738 he was living in Jermyn Street, but in 1741 he removed to King's Square Court, Soho.

Upon his death (March 30, 1742) no successor was appointed, leaving only five physicians on the hospital staff; and on the death (or resignation) of Dr. Baillie in 1744, the medical staff was further reduced to four in place of six, the original number.

In his will, dated February 7, 1740-1, he is described as of the parish of St. Ann, Westminster. He mentions his brother, John Hutton, his friend, Hugh Marriott, of the Inner Temple, Esq., and he leaves all his real estate to Miss Lydia Pearson, who as "Lydia Hutton, heretofore Pearson, widow and relict of the deceased and sole executrix," proved the will in London, May 5, 1742.

No portrait or book-plate of Dr. Hutton is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1742, p. 218; *London Mag.*, 1742, p. 205; Musgrave's *Obituary*; P.C.C., 156, *Trenley*.

Ambrose Dawson, M.D., was born at Settle, in Yorkshire, in 1707, his father being Major William Dawson, the personal friend of Sir Isaac Newton, who frequently visited him at Langcliff Hall, and his mother, Jane, daughter of Ambrose Pudsey, of Bolton, co. Yorks, by whose marriage the manor and estate of Bolton came to the Dawsons. He was educated at Giggleswick School and Christ's College, Cambridge, and proceeded M.B. 1730 and M.D. 1735; was admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians June 25, 1736, and a Fellow June 25, 1737; was Censor in 1740, 1746, 1751, and 1756; Harveian Orator in 1744; Elect, April 9, 1750; and Consiliarius in 1755, 1756, 1757, and 1759. He was elected physician to St. George's Hospital April 27, 1745, in place

Ambrose
Dawson,
M.D.

of Dr. William Wasey, which office he resigned January 21, 1760, Dr. Richard Warren being appointed to succeed him. He was one of the subscribers to St. George's as early as March, 1734, at which time he was residing in Woodstock Street. In 1743 he was living in Bond Street, and in 1750 removed to Grosvenor Street, where he practised in an unostentatious way, and was very charitable. Upon his leaving London in 1776 to reside at Langcliff Hall, and when presents of plate were comparatively few, he received from the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, a magnificent tea-urn with an inscription : "The Parish of Saint George, Hanover Square, to Ambrose Dawson, esquire, M.D. *Infirmus et visitasti me.*" The climate of Langcliff not agreeing with him, Dr. Dawson removed to Liverpool, where he died, after a short illness, December 23, 1794, in his eighty-eighth year, being then the Senior Fellow of the College. He was buried at Bolton, co. Yorks.

He married Mary, only daughter of Richard Aston, Esq., by whom he had a son, Pudsey Dawson, who succeeded him in his estates of Langcliff and Bolton; was Mayor of Liverpool 1779 and 1780, commanded the Royal Regiment of Liverpool Volunteers, and founded at Liverpool a school for the indigent blind, the first of its kind in this country.

In his will, dated September 19, 1786, he is described as of Bolton Hall, co. York. To his eldest son, Pudsey Dawson, and his heirs, he left all his manors and lands; to each of his other children—William Dawson, of Wakefield, M.D.; Richard Dawson, of Liverpool; Mary, wife of William Croser; Jane Dawson, spinster; and Elizabeth, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Rooke—the sum of £1,000. To his wife Mary he left various sums of money, and to his son William all his medical books. His will was proved in London, January 27, 1795, by his eldest son and executor.

Dr. Dawson's arms were: *Az. on a bend engrailed arg. three daws sa.: quartering Pudsey, Bolton, Laton, Strabolgi, Scrope, and Sandford.*

No portrait or book-plate of Dr. Ambrose Dawson is known to exist; and he was the author of *Thoughts on the Hydrocephalus Internus*, 8vo, London, 1778, and *Observations on Hydatids in the Heads of Cattle*, 8vo, London, 1778.

REFERENCES.—D.N.B.; Munk's *Roll*, ii, 134; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853 edition, pp. 315, 733; P.C.C., 14, *Newcastle*.

John Thomas Batt, M.D., was the son of William Batt, Esq., of Downton, co. Wilts, by his wife Martha, daughter and heiress of Jonathan Clarke, Esq., of Nunton House, in the same county. He was of Balliol College, Oxford, and proceeded A.B. December 9, 1736; A.M. July 7, 1739; M.B. November 6, 1742; M.D. July 12, 1746. He was admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians September 30, 1747; and a Fellow September 30, 1748; was Censor in 1750, 1756, and 1761; and Harveian Orator in 1754. Dr. Batt was elected physician to St. George's Hospital February 7, 1745-6 in the place of Dr. Peters, which office he resigned April 16, 1762, when he received the thanks of the Board for his long and good services to the hospital as a physician and Governor. He died August 26, 1762.

John
Thomas
Batt, M.D.

In his will, dated January 27, 1762, in which he is described as of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (he resided in Buckingham Street), he directed that he should be buried at Nunton, co. Wilts. Therein he mentions his father and mother as still living, his wife Frances, his two sons, John Thomas and Charles William (minors), his brother William, his sister Martha Buckley, and his nephew Richard Bingham. The will not being attested, a declaration that it was in the handwriting of the testator was sworn by Ambrose Dawson,

our physician, and William Dampier, apothecary. It was proved by his widow September 9, 1762, but was left un-administered in consequence of her death until, December 7, 1787, administration was granted to his eldest son.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Dr. Batt is known to exist, and he is not recognized as the author of any published work.

REFERENCES.—Munk's *Roll*, ii, 167; P.C.C., 367, *St. Eloy*.

John
Clephane,
M.D.

John Clephane, M.D., a Scotsman, was a Doctor of Medicine of St. Andrews of May 29, 1729, who had served as a physician to the Army in the Low Countries, and was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, June 25, 1752. He was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital, March 8, 1750-1, in place of Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, who had resigned, and was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society May 4, 1749. He died (in the Isle of Wight?) October 11, 1758.

He served in the expedition to Quiberon Bay in 1746 under General St. Clair, and was afterwards the familiar friend and correspondent of David Hume, St. Clair's secretary. In 1752 he was living in Golden Square, and appears to have been present for the last time at a Board meeting at St. George's July 12, 1758. On the 18th of October following the physicians reported to the Board the death of Dr. John Clephane, late one of the physicians to this hospital, and it was ordered that a special Court should be held to appoint a physician in his place. He left behind him a statement of his affairs drafted when at sea off Cape La Hogue, August 5, 1758, in which he includes, *inter alia*: "Half pay due July 5, 1758 —about £88: remains in Mr. Philip Carteret Webb's hands the money the College returned (?), and which he therefore owes to me—£34: a note of Dr. Bailley's (*sic*) for £50, which is

not to be required of his widow or exors. : and the furniture of my house in Golden Square." He leaves legacies to his brother, Major Clephane, his sister Elizabeth, wife of Hugh Rose, and mentions his cousin, William Cramond. The statement not being duly attested, a declaration was sworn, January 6, 1759, by Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., that it was in the handwriting of "John Clephane, late of the parish of St. James's, Westminster, and late Physician of His Majesty's Army in the Isle of Wight. On January 31, 1759, administration was granted to his sister, Mrs. Rose, who was his residuary legatee. Dr. Clephane was one of the witnesses to the will of his colleague, Dr. David Ross.

REFERENCES.—Munk's *Roll*, ii, 180; D.N.B.; *Gent.'s. Mag.*, xxviii, 504-5; *Scot. Mag.*, xx, 553; P.C.C., 10, *Arran*; Burton, *Life of David Hume*.

On October 19, 1733, Serjeant-Surgeons Dickins and Amyand, and a few days later William Cheselden, were appointed principal surgeons, and James Wilkie surgeon-in-ordinary, and each, having promised to serve without fee or reward, was elected a trustee or Governor of the hospital. With the exception of Cheselden, they had held similar appointments at the Westminster Infirmary, which they had vacated by resignation at the secession; but Wilkie's name does not appear in the list of surgeons at Westminster, since he acted in the dual capacity of surgeon and apothecary, and, as the latter, was a salaried officer. It appears that Cheselden was not one of the principal surgeons at Westminster, but only an ordinary surgeon, and when he resigned that appointment at the secession, he was appointed consulting surgeon to that institution, and at the same time continued to attend, when desired, to cut for the stone.

The
Surgical
Staff

February 1,
1733-4

Early in the following year John Ranby, Surgeon to the King's Household, was proposed for election as a Governor under the special by-law, not being duly qualified as a subscriber. This by-law provided for the election of six persons—not being subscribers of five guineas annually—whose services to the charity were adjudged equivalent to that amount. The Bishop of Winchester, the Rev. D. Pelling, Rector of St. Anne's, Soho, Cheselden, and Ranby were all elected under this rule.

On July 3, 1734, a Minute records that whenever it is necessary to couch any patient for cataract, Mr. Ranby is to be desired to perform the operation, in the same way that Cheselden cut all cases of stone, these two being the only operating specialists on the staff of St. George's.

January 4,
1733-4

But within a few days of the opening of the hospital, rules had been formulated by the *physicians* as follows :

That the surgeon-in-ordinary do attend on Fridays and Mondays (afterwards altered to Wednesdays and Saturdays), at nine o'clock in the morning, and as often at other times as the cases of the patients under his care shall require ; and that in case of his necessary absence, Mr. Middleton be desired to attend.

That the principal surgeons shall be desired to attend weekly by rotation either on the receiving or general visitation days as they shall agree amongst themselves, and as often at other times as they shall be required.

February 6,
1733-4

A month later "Rules for the well-ordering Chirurgical matters in this hospital" were formulated :

That the surgeons be particularly careful to be tender and compassionate to the patients.

That the principal surgeons shall direct and superintend all things relating thereto.

That there be two surgeons-in-ordinary, one of which at least shall attend and dress the patients every day between the hours of seven and nine in the morning during the eight summer months, and between nine and eleven in the winter [April 10, 1734, it was resolved that one of the surgeons-in-ordinary be desired to attend during the time that the receiving physician continues to examine patients]; and that the principal surgeons be desired to attend upon any extraordinary occasion.

At the same time it was resolved that each surgeon should be allowed not more than two apprentices, and that the senior surgeon might have four pupils, and the junior not more than two, at one time.

In September all these rules, together with the following, September 18, 1734 were made standing orders of the hospital :

That the principal surgeons, when present, shall have the direction of all chirurgical matters.

That the principal surgeons be visitors in this house as often as they please to see that all the orders of this Board relating to the chirurgical matters be duly observed.

That the surgeons-in-ordinary shall give the principal surgeons timely notice of any capital operation to be performed by sending the messenger to each of them some time the day before; or when it cannot be done sooner, at least six hours before such operation.

That the surgeons-in-ordinary shall desire their presence and assistance on all extraordinary occasions. [At the Middlesex Hospital there was a rule—"That no surgeon of this hospital do presume to perform any capital operation until after a consultation with the physicians and surgeons of the hospital, and approved of by them, except in cases of necessity." This rule answers to the special desideratum

of John Howard, which he searched for vainly in his perambulation.]

When at the end of the first month an additional surgeon-in-ordinary had become necessary, the choice fell upon David Middleton, who before the hospital was opened had offered to attend as surgeon in the absence or illness of James Wilkie.

The office of principal surgeon was peculiar to Westminster and St. George's, and with the resignation of that appointment by the two serjeant-surgeons on their secession from Westminster, no further mention of such appears in the annals of that infirmary. But, as we have seen, the office was continued for a time at St. George's, the first occupants thereof being the two serjeant-surgeons and Cheselden, who were joined by John Wreden, November 13, 1734, shortly before which date H.R.H. Frederick, Prince of Wales, had accepted the Presidency. Wreden being Surgeon to the Prince's Household, his election was probably intended as a compliment to His Royal Highness, whose permission was asked before the election was confirmed.

The position of principal surgeon appears to have coincided in some measure with that of consulting surgeon ; but certain supervisory duties were added (*e.g.*, that of inquiring into and certifying their approval of the character and capabilities of the surgeons' pupils), while the principal surgeons had neither pupils nor apprentices like the ordinary surgeons.

On June 18, 1735, the two surgeons-in-ordinary reported that another surgeon had become necessary, and suggested that he, being the junior surgeon, should be allowed two apprentices, but no pupil, the object being to restrict the number of pupils ; that he should attend with the receiving surgeon—the first mention we meet with of such, and probably

meaning the surgeon of the week—at each weekly Board ; and that on his own receiving day one of the other surgeons, in rotation, should attend with him, so that two surgeons should always be in attendance on receiving day.

In the absence of his colleagues, he was to attend in their stead, and also on the monthly review day ; he was to make all the “dissections” (? dressings), and post them in a book, together with all the chirurgical cases in the hospital, if the other surgeons should decline to do so ; in fact, he was intended to perform all the less desirable duties of all his colleagues.

The election resulted in a ballot, there being three candidates, of whom Mr. Cæsar Hawkins received thirty-six votes, Mr. Coldham eleven, and Mr. Ormerod ten ; whereupon the first-named was declared duly elected.

June 26,
1735

On July 18 a new distribution of pupils was made. Hitherto each surgeon-in-ordinary had been allowed two apprentices, and in addition the senior surgeon four pupils, the second in seniority two pupils, and the junior surgeon none. But Wreden, who had been originally appointed a principal surgeon, which office carried with it neither apprentices nor pupils, had evidently undertaken the duties of an ordinary surgeon, and on the above date it was agreed that “John Wreden, Esq., so long as he continues to dress (patients), as a surgeon-in-ordinary shall have two pupils, Mr. Wilkie also having two, and Mr. Middleton and Mr. Hawkins one each.” No mention is here made of apprentices ; probably the former rule of two apprentices to each of the surgeons still held.

At the same meeting the pupils were forbidden to dress the patients ; and in case of the absence on leave of any of the dressing surgeons, his colleagues alone were to do his duties.

It was customary at the chartered hospitals, where the staff was salaried, for the surgeons to find their own instruments. It is not certain whether the same rule held in the earliest days at St. George's, but in May, 1735, we find the first record of the purchase of two surgeons' boxes for the use of the surgeons, and in the following July another surgeon's dressing-box was ordered for the use of Mr. Hawkins. He, the junior member of the surgical staff, was desired to prepare six cradles and twelve soles for fractures, and later to procure cupping-glasses and a scarificator, payment for which appears in a Minute, August 11, 1736: "Paid Oliphant £2 16s. od. for mahogany box and two sets of glasses."

According to the earliest regulations the doors of the hospital were to be closed against the reception of patients at 10 p.m. in summer and 9 p.m. in winter; but about twelve months after these hours were altered to 9 p.m. in summer and 6 p.m. in winter, and this rule was ordered to apply to all cases with or without a recommendation. The reason for this curtailment of the hours between which the hospital was available for accidents and other urgent cases is unrecorded; but it may be surmised that in the absence of any resident, except the house-apothecary, difficulty was found in procuring the attendance of the surgeons after six o'clock in the evening.

November
16, 1733
October 16,
1734

On October 8, 1735, Mr. Serjeant Dickins drew the attention of the Board to the inconvenience that might ensue, with reference to accidents occurring at night, from the stringency of the orders then upon the books as to closing, and the matter was referred to the consideration of the next quarterly general Court. The Minutes of that meeting contain no mention thereof; but, as if in prearranged substitution, it was resolved first that an apprentice, then that a surgeon, and finally that one of the surgeons' pupils, should constantly reside in the house. Accordingly in the following

October 10,
1735

month Thomas Clare, the first house (surgeon) pupil, took up his residence in the hospital, and he remained in that office until his death in June, 1737. January 9,
1735-6

But in spite of this provision four years were to elapse before the rules were altered by the repeal of the restrictive by-law, which was effected in consequence of a patient with a broken leg having been refused admission at 11 p.m. ; and after this date accidents were admitted at all hours if accompanied by the recommendation of a subscriber. October 17,
1739

A Minute records that April 1, 1737, "Mr. Cheselden, who has from the foundation of the hospital cut the patients here for the stone,¹ now desiring to resign and proposing that another surgeon be chosen for that operation, it was resolved that the thanks of the Court be given to Mr. Cheselden for his great care and trouble in and about the operation aforesaid ; and that a special Court be held to supply his place as operator for the stone." In accordance with Cheselden's suggestion it was agreed that it would be of most advantage to the patients, and more for the credit of the hospital, if that operation was performed by one only of the staff, and (April 22) David Middleton was unanimously chosen to succeed him.

The reason for Cheselden's resignation remains in doubt, though it was probably due to his appointment to Chelsea Hospital ; indeed, it is not quite certain that the resignation applied to his appointment as principal surgeon as well as to that of lithotomist. But there are traces of rising dissatisfaction with the management of the hospital ; and Cheselden's action was speedily followed by the formulation of some new regulations pointing to irregularity in attendance of the surgeons. On April 22, 1737, it was resolved :

¹ As already pointed out, only five such cases had been admitted during the eighteen and a half months ending July 16, 1735.

“ That the surgeons be desired to be very punctual in their attendance on the patients at the hours they have agreed on —viz., at 8 a.m. from Lady-Day to Michaelmas, and 9 a.m. from Michaelmas to Lady-Day ; so that the dressings may be finished by nine in summer and ten in winter.

“ That immediately after the dressings are over in the first ward, the nurses shall clean that ward ; and so proceed till the whole are cleaned, by ten in summer and eleven in winter.

“ That the patients shall have finished breakfast before the hours of the surgeons’ attendance.

“ That a fine of 5s. be laid on each surgeon that does not attend to do his business before eight in summer and nine in winter ; to be applied to augmenting the Poor-box.”

Unpunctuality appears to have been a frequent failing, numerous instances and remarks upon them appearing in the Minutes from time to time, culminating in the imposition of a fine, which must have been very humiliating to the surgical staff, especially when it is remembered that they were honorary officers, and at the same time Governors of the hospital.

On November 17 it was reported to the Board that the surgeons had neglected to register their pupils according to order ; and at a meeting held on the 30th of the same month the storm broke, a letter being read from Mr. Serjeant Dickins formulating a complaint against Messrs. Wilkie and Hawkins.

December
16, 1737

A special Court was summoned to consider the matter, eighty-seven Governors being present, including the whole of the medical and surgical staff, at which letters from Messrs. Dickins and Wilkie, sworn certificates from George Munro, the then resident pupil (house-surgeon), and others, who were probably pupils or apprentices, and a letter from the clerk of the Surgeons’ Company to Mr. Serjeant Dickins, were placed before the meeting. The matter of complaint having been

discussed, Dickins desired to withdraw his accusations therein, "which was unanimously accepted with regard to the malpractice only"; and a vote of thanks was accorded "to the principal surgeons for their care in endeavouring to preserve the rules and orders of this house, and that they be desired to persevere in the same, and to the surgeons-in-ordinary for their great care and trouble with the patients of this hospital."

Serjeant Dickins had evidently been unable to prove his accusations, and at the next meeting of the Board the two Serjeant-Surgeons, Messrs. Dickins and Amyand, handed in their resignations as principal surgeons.

December
21, 1737

The chairman was desired to write to them and to Cheselden thanking them for their many good offices done to the society from its first foundation, and for their promises to continue the same, although they had resigned their appointments as principal surgeons. And it was ordered to be considered at the next quarterly Court (January 5) whether the places of the principal surgeons who had resigned should be filled or not.

The nature of Mr. Serjeant Dickins's complaints against the two surgeons-in-ordinary, other than that of malpractice which the Board allowed him to withdraw, does not appear. But the following letters inscribed in the Minutes are worth preservation :

[TO THE GOVERNORS OF ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL.]

December 21, 1737.

GENTLEMEN,

As I found by the determination of last Friday that the original constitution of your hospital, which induced me to be an early subscriber, was quite changed in the most essential part, I determined to withdraw my subscription, which I now take the first opportunity of doing. I am very

glad to afford my small assistance to anything that has the face of charity, and nothing should make me cease to continue it but the strong reasons I have now to fear, that this once noble design will soon change from an hospital for relief into a school for experiments.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) BURLINGTON.

To which the following reply was sent :

[To THE EARL OF BURLINGTON.]

My LORD,

It is with particular concern we find by your lordship's letter your resolution to withdraw your subscription. We make little doubt but a short time will satisfy your lordship that the patients are treated with so much humanity and care as never to give room for the least suspicion of the hospital's becoming a school of experiments. We return your lordship our sincere thanks for the goodness you have already shown to this charity, and hope your lordship will find the design of it justly executed, and will be so good as to alter your resolution, etc.

In a letter from Mr. J. P. Yvoune, also preserved in the Minutes, he says (*inter alia*) :

“ I should have continued my little services for the poor had I found that everybody had acted in the same disinterested manner. It is with no small regret that I perceive that the peace and harmony we at first set out with has not continued,” etc.

With this letter he forwarded the register books and an account of all the patients received and discharged from

the hospital in 1737, which, unfortunately, has not been preserved.

Malpractice ; constitution of hospital changed in the most essential part ; school for experiments ; lack of disinterested motives ; disappearance of peace and harmony—such are the salient features of the quarrel and subsequent correspondence. There are very few additional facts that come to light in the search after the precise details of what might have been a very serious matter.

The position of principal surgeon carried with it the duty of directing and superintending all things relating to chirurgical matters, and it is evident from Serjeant Dickins's accusation of malpractice that he considered the action of Messrs. Wilkie and Hawkins to have partaken of the nature of an experiment upon some patient.

His withdrawal of that part of his complaint was followed by a vote of thanks to the whole surgical staff, which expressly included the surgeons-in-ordinary, implying that the Board exonerated Messrs. Wilkie and Hawkins from all the accusations which had been levelled against them. But there was another part of Dickins's complaint which the Board would not allow him to withdraw ; and though the precise nature of this is unknown to us, it is evident in the light of what followed that the decision of the Court was considered by Serjeant Dickins as something like disapproval of his action. His resignation was followed by that of his colleague, Serjeant Amyand, and it appears that their resentment was deep enough to incite them to induce some of those subscribers, whose patronage of the hospital they had been instrumental in obtaining, to withdraw their subscriptions. The Earl of Burlington, who was doubtless supporting the Serjeant Surgeons, had previously subscribed twenty guineas annually, which had always been paid in by Serjeant

Dickins. Mr. Yvoune's annual subscription of five guineas had been paid by Serjeant Amyand, as also that of Lady Cobham (ten guineas), which was likewise withdrawn in the following year.

On January 5, 1737-8, John Wreden resigned his appointment of principal surgeon, with a promise to continue his utmost services as an acting surgeon, which latter office he had undertaken, at least as early as July, 1735, presumably for the sake of the fees arising from the privilege (not possessed by the principal surgeons) of taking pupils and apprentices. Thereupon, his resignation being accepted, a vote of thanks was given him for his great care and trouble as surgeon to this hospital, and it was unanimously decided that the places of principal surgeons should not be filled up. In their stead the two Serjeant-Surgeons, Cheselden and John Pawlett, were desired to lend their kind assistance in all extraordinary cases, "to consult upon the same foot as in private practice," and to attend the practice of the hospital when they might please at the usual hours of dressing. This they appear to have consented to do, and in the list of the surgical staff the appointment of these gentlemen as Consulting Surgeons is dated February 3, 1737-8, although no mention is found in the Minutes of their acceptance of office.

With the resignation of John Wreden the office of principal surgeon disappears from hospital history, and in his place the consulting surgeon is introduced to St. George's.

The meaning of consultations "upon the same foot as in private practice" is matter of opinion; suffice it to say that the simplest rendering, generally nearest the mark, though in this instance at variance with the honorary principle upon which the voluntary system was founded, seems to be that such consultations were to be paid for. But no such payments are found in the accounts.

It may be noted in passing that under the regulations of the Fellowship of Surgeons, the Barbers' Gild, and the Barber-Surgeons' Company, a surgeon who had a difficult, dangerous, or obscure case, was obliged to call one of the senior members of his craft into consultation. These consultations were at first gratuitous, but after a time a present was usually accepted. The custom, which originated at least as early as 1415, did not cease till 1745; and to it may be traced the office of consulting surgeon.

Undoubtedly there was a genuine desire on the part of the Governors to leave no stone unturned to remove any irregularities which had crept into the management of the hospital or the conduct of the staff, and to secure the best possible treatment and care of the patients.

The Committee of Inquiry, which had been appointed, made the following recommendations, the first of which, addressed to a surgical staff sensitized by recent accusations of malpractice, it was desired should be "considered as a recommendation only, not a by-law":

"That it would contribute greatly to the safety of the patients and to the credit of this hospital if the receiving surgeon should alone continue the care and dressing of the patients taken in under his name, so that they should not be dressed by any other surgeon; and that it should be recommended to the acting surgeons to call in the immediate assistance of the consulting surgeons as often as the least doubt, or appearance of danger, arises; and that they should meet the same day that the case requires it, if possible."

"That in order to keep our faith with the public, and to make this hospital one in which the patients are really taken care of without any expense to themselves, plates,

knives and forks, porringers, and all other utensils whatever for their use in the hospital, should be found them at the expense of the society ; and that flannels also be found for such whose cases require them (salivation) at the expense of the house ; and that the matron do, for that purpose, buy in flannel by the piece," etc.

Many years pass before the Minutes record any further complaints against the surgical staff, but in January, 1745-6, it was reported that it had been rumoured that when an accident was brought into the hospital after the visiting surgeons had gone away it was usual for the patient to lie in the same condition until the return of the surgeon the next day. But upon inquiry it was found that no such neglect had occurred. On the other hand, in October, 1751, the physicians and surgeons were desired to meet at the hospital to consider about an operation lately performed upon Ann Smith, a patient, and to report the result to the next weekly Board, so that it might be published in the daily papers.

April 10,
1741

In 1741, at the combined request of the physicians and surgeons, it was decided that the number of the staff should be reduced to three of each profession, as vacancies should arise. At that time there were three consulting surgeons—Dickins, Cheselden, and Pawlett (Amyand having died the previous year)—and four surgeons-in-ordinary—Wreden, Wilkie, Middleton, and Hawkins, of whom Wilkie resigned in January, 1743-4, in consequence of ill-health, no vote of thanks to him being recorded in the Minutes.

Numerous complaints had been made to the Board concerning Wreden's neglect of his duties, by which, not only his patients, but also the reputation of the hospital was made to suffer ; and the Board ordered that notice should be sent to him that it was only in consideration of the mediation of

his colleague Middleton, and his own further promise of constant and regular attention, that the Board was willing to overlook the breach of a former promise to the like effect, and to give him another chance before bringing the complaints before a general Court.

By Wilkie's resignation the number of surgeons-in-ordinary had been reduced to the minimum (three), so that when, at the end of February, Middleton was called abroad on His Majesty's service, it was decided, at the request of the combined hospital staff, that he should be permitted, contrary to a standing order of July, 1735, to recommend William Hewitt, who had previously been a resident pupil of the hospital, to act as his deputy during his absence. It is probable that Hewitt had been one of Middleton's pupils.

Scarcely had this permission been given than Wreden, "being obliged to attend on H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (the President) and his family in the country," desired leave to recommend a surgeon to take charge of his patients in like manner. But there was now no colleague to intervene on his behalf with a Board which had found cause to complain on more than one occasion of his derelictions of duty, and Hawkins was not improbably ambitious for the position, during Middleton's absence, of the senior surgeon on the staff. Wreden's request, in spite of the influence attaching to his appointment to his Royal master, was refused; but as if to blunt the edge of the refusal, coming as it did immediately after the special favour granted to Middleton, the next general Court ordered the consideration of a proposal that it should be a standing order "that no physician or surgeon should have leave to recommend a deputy to this hospital upon any occasion whatever, except upon necessary absence with His Majesty's Forces in foreign parts in time of war." On June 8, 1744, this was confirmed and adopted.

The refusal of his request had left only one course open to Wreden, who, on May 23, desired leave to resign his place of surgeon to the hospital, which was accepted, no vote of thanks being recorded in the Minutes.

About this time the central portion of the hospital (the original Lanesborough House) was under reconstruction, and a special Court was convened at St. Martin's Library, in Castle Street (Leicester Fields), "near the Kings Meuse" (*sic*), for the election of a third surgeon. Three candidates—William Bromfield, William Hewitt, and Thomas Williams—presented themselves for the appointment, and, 119 Governors being present, a ballot was taken, at which the number of votes did not tally, and it remained uncertain whether Bromfield or Hewitt was elected. By the completion of the east and west wings, the rebuilding of the central block, and the acquisition of the two adjoining houses, the accommodation available was sufficient for the reception of about 300 patients in the hospital, and in spite of the extra provision of a resident pupil, the surgical staff was none too large. A proposal was therefore made that both Bromfield and Hewitt should be appointed surgeons to the hospital; but since this would have exceeded the number permissible under the by-law of 1741 (restricting them to three), notice was given that the repeal of that by-law should be considered at the next quarterly Court. On August 9, 1744, the repeal having been considered and confirmed, Bromfield and Hewitt were unanimously elected. It is to be noted, however, that the repeal only applied to the surgeons, and that it was not until December 6 (1744) that it was made applicable to the physicians; and even then there were evidently some dissentients, for shortly afterwards a suggestion was made, and negatived, that the officers of the hospital, including the surgeons, should be subject to annual re-election.

During the rebuilding of the central block a resolution

February 9,
1744-5

was passed that the ward over the surgery should be specially fitted up "for cutting for the stone and other operations," which before that date had been performed either in the wards themselves or in the surgery: two of the Governors, John Ranby, Esq., and Mr. George Garnier, offering to bear the expense, which they fulfilled by each giving a benefaction of £50; the builders' account "for operating room" amounting to £66.

May 23,
1744

November
13, 1745

Bromfield, the surgeon, was desired to procure a stove, and the partition already existing in the ward was ordered to be carried up to the ceiling.

On April 6, 1745, Middleton gave notice to the Board of his further enforced absence abroad in attendance upon His Majesty's Forces, and at the same time intimated his desire to resign the monopoly, which he had exercised since Cheselden's resignation in 1737, of operating upon all cases of stone in the bladder, adding that he would be willing to take his turn as lithotomist with his colleagues. And although contrary to the express opinion of Cheselden that it would be most advantageous to the patients and to the hospital if all the cases were undertaken by one special surgeon, on the 27th of the same month it was ordered "that the operation of cutting for the stone be left to such of the surgeons of this hospital as think proper to perform the same," a resolution which effected the extinction of the office of lithotomist at St. George's.

SURGEONS.

PRINCIPAL SURGEONS.

Elected.	Name.	Vacated.
October 19, 1733	... Dickins, Ambrose	... December 21, 1737. Resigned
"	... Amyand, Claudio	... December 21, 1737. Resigned

Elected.	Name.	Vacated.
October 22, 1733	Cheselden, William	April 1, 1737. Resigned
November 13, 1734	Wreden, Johann Ernst	January 5, 1737-8. Resigned

SPECIAL SURGEONS.

Lithotomy.

January 1, 1733-4	Cheselden, William	April 1, 1737. Resigned
April 22, 1737	Middleton, David	April 27, 1745. Resigned

Couching.

July 3, 1734	Ranby, John	...
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CONSULTING SURGEONS.

February 3, 1737-8	Dickins, Ambrose	... [Died, August 25, 1747]
"	Amyand, Claudio	... [Died, July 6, 1740]
"	Cheselden, William	... [Died, April 10, 1752]
"	Pawlett, John	... [Died, March 1, 1748]

SURGEONS-IN-ORDINARY.

October 19, 1733	Wilkie, James	... January 25, 1743-4. Illness.
February 1, 1733-4	Middleton, David	... (1765)
July 18, 1735	Wreden, Johann Ernst	... May 23, 1744. Resigned
June 26, 1735	Hawkins, Cæsar	... (1774)
August 9, 1744	Bromfield, William	... (1780)
"	Hewitt, William	... (1760)

In compiling biographical memoirs of the early surgeons to St. George's, one meets with little assistance from printed records ; for no surgeon, so long as he was a freeman of the Barber Surgeons' Company, could be admitted to the College of Physicians, so that none would appear in Dr. Munk's *Roll*, unless he was one of the very small minority who exchanged the freedom of their craft for the physician's licence. Further,

it was quite exceptional at that period for a surgeon to possess a degree, and the University records give no information of our early surgeons, of whom Cheselden, Hawkins, and Bromfield alone have been deemed worthy of a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Memoirs of the two Serjeant-Surgeons, Dickins and Amyand — unaccountably missing from that Dictionary — are to be found in Mr. Sidney Young's *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*; but particulars of the lives of the majority have only been obtained by searching wills, registers, and other contemporary records, still unpublished. The following details, scanty and inadequate though they be, are valuable, since they throw light for the first time upon the identity of those who were concerned in establishing the surgical traditions of St. George's.

Ambrose Dickins, sometimes spelt Dickens, was the son of George Dickins, of Riplington, in East Meon, co. Hants, gent., and was born about 1687. In 1702 he was apprenticed to Serjeant-Surgeon Charles Bernard for seven years, and February 10, 1709, was admitted to the freedom and livery of the Barber Surgeons' Company, being at that time resident in James Street, Covent Garden. Early in the same year he married his master's daughter, Elizabeth, and on the death of Bernard, in October, 1710, Dickins succeeded him as Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne. In December, 1721, at the request of Claudius Amyand, principal surgeon to the Westminster Infirmary, that another person should be joined with him in the care and inspection of that institution, Serjeant-Surgeon Dickins was elected to a similar appointment; but at the secession he and Amyand resigned office, when they were accorded a vote of thanks, and desired to attend the infirmary on any extraordinary occasion when requested. Together they were two of the six lessees of Lanesborough House in trust for the new society in Sep-

Ambrose
Dickins

tember, 1733, and were appointed principal surgeons to St. George's Hospital at the first general Board, October 19, 1733, in which office they were joined a few days later by Cheselden.

In November, 1737, Serjeant-Surgeon Dickins formulated a written complaint to the Board against Wilkie and Hawkins, two of the surgeons-in-ordinary, charging them with malpraxis. This he probably did, as the senior principal surgeon, with the approval of his colleague, Amyand, they having the supreme direction and supervision of all surgical matters connected with the hospital. This complaint was considered by a special Court, and ended in Dickins expressing a desire to withdraw his accusations; but the Governors would only consent to his withdrawal of the charges of malpraxis, and, while proceeding to thank the principal surgeons for their endeavours to preserve the rules and orders of the hospital, at the same time passed a vote of confidence in the surgeons-in-ordinary, against whom the charges had been made. Doubtless in consequence of their rebuff, both Dickins and Amyand handed in their resignations as principal surgeons, leaving Wreden alone in possession of that office; and a few weeks afterwards they were appointed consulting surgeons, in which capacity each appears to have acted until his decease. They were certainly on terms of friendship, probably of family intimacy; their professional associations finding amplification in the possession by each of landed property in the parish of East Meon, co. Hants, Dickins acquiring his by paternal descent, and Amyand his by purchase.

In 1728 Dickins was a Warden of the Barber Surgeons; in 1729 Master of that Company; and on the separation in 1745 he became an assistant of the Surgeons' Company and examiner of surgeons. He served as Serjeant-Surgeon

to three monarchs, Anne, George I, and George II, in which office he was succeeded by Cæsar Hawkins. In that capacity it was his duty to examine all those who were touched for the Evil by Queen Anne, and we learn from Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, that he (Dickins) "made no secret in bearing witness to the certainty of some of the cures," and that he had in his possession a great number of letters from persons of character and distinction, thanking him for the trouble he had taken, and attesting the recovery of their friends and relations after they had received the Royal Touch.

He died August 25, 1747. In his will, dated March 12, 1745, he mentions his deceased wife—with whom he desires to be buried—his two sons, Ambrose and George, and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Katherine, and his two brothers, Francis, Doctor of Laws, and Dr. George Dickins. His paternal estate at Riplington, in East Meon, co. Hants, which had been bequeathed to him by his elder brother, Francis, and the reversion of which he had purchased from his other brother, George, he leaves to his son Ambrose. To each of his daughters he devises £1,500 on marriage, and he specifies certain articles of silver as heirlooms to his son Ambrose, among others the silver tea-table given him by Queen Anne, a gold-headed cane and gold shoe-buckles given him by the Earl of Essex; and to his son George a silver punch-bowl given him by George I. All his physical and surgical books he leaves to his best and oldest friend, John Shipton; £100 to each of the parishes of St. James, Westminster, and St. Paul, Covent Garden, for charitable purposes; and £10 to buy "a cup and cover for the Communion in East Meon Church." His will was proved in London, August 29, 1747, by his son and executor, Ambrose Dickins. His arms were: *Erm, on a cross fleury sa., a*

leopard's face or. His portrait (? engraved) "from a miniature" is mentioned by Wadd.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of Westminster and St. George's Hospitals*; Young's *Barber Surgeons*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1747. Wadd's *Nugæ Chirurgicæ*; P.C.C., 204, *Potter*; Dr. John Douglas, *The Criterion*, p. 204.

Claudius
Amyand

Claudius Amyand was the second son of Isaac Amyand, of Marnac, Xaintonge, a Huguenot refugee, who was naturalized in London October 10, 1688, and was living there in 1699. He was elected a Director of the French Protestant Hospital January 2, 1723. On May 7, 1728, he was admitted to the freedom of the Barber Surgeons' Company, previous to which date he had been appointed Serjeant-Surgeon to George I. He was Warden in 1729 and 1730, and Master of the Company in 1731. November 8, 1721, he was elected principal surgeon to the Westminster Infirmary, and was joined by Dickins, December 20, 1721, in that office, which they resigned together at the secession. Apparently he was in possession of some special knowledge of the constitution and governance of foreign hospitals (see p. 45 *ante*), which was requisitioned by the promoters for the formulation of the first by-laws, and he was one of the six lessees of Lanesborough House. He was an early subscriber to St. George's, and was appointed with Dickins, and was afterwards joined by Cheselden, as one of the principal surgeons to the hospital at the first general Board, October 19, 1733. His close professional association with Dickins has been alluded to on a previous page. Together they resigned the office of principal surgeon to St. George's December 21, 1737, and together they were appointed consulting surgeons on February 3 following. They probably acted in that capacity

until their decease, no mention of which is recorded in the Minutes.

Serjeant-Surgeon Amyand is especially to be remembered as one of the earliest and most ardent advocates and practisers of inoculation for small-pox ; indeed, it was mostly due to his persuasion and influence that the operation obtained the sanction and patronage of the Royal Family. In 1721 some condemned criminals in Newgate had been inoculated with their consent by way of experiment ; and in the following spring, by direction of the Princess of Wales, six charity-school children (and afterwards five more from the parish of St. James, Westminster)¹ were submitted to the treatment, of whom none died. "Upon this encouragement, Mr. Amyand, Serjeant-Surgeon, was ordered to ingraft the small-pox on the Princesses Amelia, aged eleven, and Carolina, aged nine ; they had them favourably : this encouraged the practice. . . . During the first three years of the practice 477 persons were inoculated in Great Britain, of whom 9 died, and 29 did not receive the infection—a mortality in three years of 2 *per cent.* : the principal inoculators in England being Dr. Nettleton in Yorkshire, 80 patients, Mr. Amyand, Serjeant-Surgeon, 62, and Mr. Maitland, 85."² Sloane MS. (406B, fol. 17) gives a list of twenty-one persons inoculated for small-pox by Claudio Amyand in or about London during the year 1728. All of these were people of good position, most of them children of the nobility, of tender years ; and all but one (aged eleven weeks) had the small-pox

¹ Sloane MS., 4076, fol. 331, is a letter from Amyand to Sloane respecting these five children, telling Sloane that "their Royal Highnesses apprehend that these children, being very miserable, the ill-state of their bodies does not make them the fittest (subjects) for an experiment," and submits the matter to Sloane's "better judgment." This letter is dated March 14, 1721-2.

² Douglas, *History of British Settlements in North America*, ii. 410.

and recovered. It appears that each of them sickened on the sixth or seventh day, and the small-pox appeared on the eighth or ninth day after inoculation.

Serjeant-Surgeon Amyand died at his house in Castle Street, Leicester Square, July 6, 1740, from the effects of a fall while walking in Greenwich Park on the previous day. He was succeeded as Serjeant-Surgeon by John Ranby. By his wife, Mary Rabache, he had three sons and six daughters. His eldest son, Claudius, was Under-Secretary of State in 1750, and married the widow of the Earl of Northampton; his second son, George, was a Member of Parliament and a Director of the East India Company, and was created a baronet; and his third son, Thomas, was in holy orders. In his will, which was dated March 10, 1737, he leaves to his wife Mary all his household goods, books, etc.; and, for her life or until remarriage, all his lands in Sidlesham, co. Sussex, and copyholds at East Meon and Bentworth, in co. Hants, together with the rest of his personal estate; after her death, his real estate and the lease from the Earl of Leicester of his dwelling-house in Castle Street to go to his eldest son Claudius. To each of his children he leaves £1,000, and he devotes a sum of £300 for putting out poor apprentices to business. He appoints his sons, Claudius and George, trustees and overseers, and his wife Mary sole executrix, by whom his will was proved in London July 9, 1740. His arms were: *Vert a chevron between 3 garbs or.*

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Serjeant-Surgeon Amyand has been discovered, and he is not credited with the authorship of any published work.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of Westminster and St. George's Hospitals*; *Young's Barber Surgeons*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1740; *Sloane MSS.*; Douglas, *History of British Settlements in North America*; P.C.C., 19, Browne.

Of Wilkie's parentage and early career nothing has been ascertained. The Minutes of the Westminster Infirmary provide the earliest information to the effect that "James Wilkie, a surgeon residing in Baely's (*sic*) Court, over against Durham Yard," had offered his services to that society, and was probably elected surgeon-in-ordinary on that date (September 14, 1720). During the following year he rendered some extra services, for which the Board (November 8, 1721), presented him with ten guineas; and an arrangement was entered into that he, while acting as surgeon-in-ordinary, should also dispense the medicines according to prescription, for which he was given a salary of £20 per annum. It is because of his receipt of this salary, thus annulling the stipulation as to the honorary services of the staff which was one of the salient features of the voluntary hospital movement, that Wilkie's name is omitted from the list of surgeons to the Westminster Infirmary. In 1725 we find him accepting an apprentice for seven years, *for the use of that infirmary*, he receiving one-third of the fees; and in May, 1730, a second apprentice was received under a somewhat similar arrangement, Wilkie's salary being increased by £10 per annum in consideration of the trouble in instructing him.

October 10, 1733, Wilkie gave notice to the Board that he desired to resign his appointment as surgeon to the Westminster Infirmary, but that he would continue his subscription, and was willing at any time to give his services; whereupon William Pyle was elected in his place, no vote of thanks being recorded in the Minutes. He was among the earliest subscribers to St. George's Hospital, and October 19, 1733, was appointed its first surgeon-in-ordinary. With Cæsar Hawkins he was implicated in the charges of malpraxis, etc., which were formulated by Serjeant-Surgeon Dickins, but from which he was exonerated by the Board.

James
Wilkie

He continued his services to the charity until January 25, 1743-4, when, in consequence of ill-health, he resigned his appointment, no vote of thanks being recorded in the Minutes; and the number of surgeons being increased to four, Bromfield and Hewitt were elected. For some reason his name does not appear in the list of surgeons duly examined and approved by law, which was published in 1747, and distributed to parochial authorities as those entitled to immunity from parish duties: it may have been that he had retired from practice, or that he had removed from London. The date and place of his death are uncertain, but he is probably identical with the "James Wilkie, late of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, decd.," administration of whose goods, etc., was granted September 19, 1750, to Robert Carter, a creditor, Mary Wilkie, the widow and relict, having renounced, and James Wilkie, the son and only child, having failed to appear.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of Wilkie is known to exist, and he is not credited with the authorship of any published work.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of Westminster and St. George's Hospitals*; P.C.C., *Admon. Act Book*, September, 1750.

William
Cheselden

No adequate biography of Cheselden, "among the greatest of English surgeons, and one of the most brilliant operators on record," has yet been written, and little more will be attempted here than to direct attention to those incidents of his career in connection with St. George's. First apprenticed to a surgeon at Leicester, his native county, in 1703 he was a pupil of William Cowper, the anatomist, and was afterwards apprenticed to James Ferne, surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital. Before he was twenty-three years of age he was lecturing on anatomy, which lectures were continued at St. Thomas's for twenty years. Cheselden's fame

rests principally upon his dexterity as a lithotomist, an operation which he probably first saw under his master, Ferne, who was specially licensed to perform it. The lateral operation, first practised by Frère Jacques, improved by Rau of Leyden, and perfected by Cheselden, was first adopted by the latter in preference to the high operation March 27, 1727. In 1718 he had been appointed assistant surgeon, and in 1719 full surgeon, to St. Thomas's; and June 17, 1724, he was elected surgeon to the Westminster Infirmary. On the secession to Hyde Park Corner in 1733, Cheselden was appointed consulting surgeon to the Westminster Infirmary, and it is probable that he resigned with the rest of the seceding staff, though no record of such is preserved in the Minutes. On October 22, 1733, Cheselden was elected one of the principal surgeons to St. George's,¹ and he performed all the operations for stone at our hospital until his resignation on April 1, 1737, when he was appointed consulting surgeon. It was thereupon resolved that the thanks of the Board should be given to him "for his great care and trouble in and about the operation aforesaid since the foundation of the hospital," and David Middleton was chosen to succeed him as lithotomist. Cheselden is said to have retired from St. Thomas's in 1738, and from Westminster in 1739. His retirement was probably due in part to the large practice which he had acquired, but principally to his election as surgeon to Chelsea Hospital in February, 1737. He had been appointed Surgeon to Queen Caroline in 1727, but was not called in during her last illness. He attended the death-bed of Sir Isaac Newton, and was

¹ Cheselden's subscription was only two guineas, consequently he was only qualified to become a Governor under a special by-law, as one of six persons whose services to the hospital might be judged equivalent to an annual subscription of five guineas (see p. 107 *ante*).

intimate with Sloane and Pope, who immortalized him in one line :

“ I'll do what Mead and Cheselden advise.”

His manners are said to have been gay and genial, he was kind and tender-hearted, popular and fond of society. In spite of his large practice and the fact that his fee for operating for stone was 500 guineas, he left “ no large fortune.” He died at Bath, April 10, 1752, and was buried at Chelsea Hospital. In his will, dated March 24, 1749-50, which is remarkable for its brevity, he leaves £500 to his daughter and only child, who had married Dr. Charles Cotes, of Woodcote, co. Salop, and the rest to his wife, *née* Deborah Knight, of London, by whom as his executrix it was proved April 27, 1752. His widow survived him till 1764, and his daughter died childless. In addition to his many published works, he edited Le Dran's *Operations in Surgery*, translated into English by Thomas Gataker, afterwards surgeon to St. George's. Cheselden is not known to have used a book-plate. His arms were: *Quarterly, 1 and 4. Arg. a chevron between 3 crosses molines gu. 2. Arg. on a fesse indented sa. 3 bezants (Brough). 3. Or, an eagle displayed az. beak and feet gu. (Montgomery).*

His portrait, painted by Jonathan Richardson, is at the Royal College of Surgeons ; it has been frequently engraved, in the first and best instance by John Faber, 1753, in mezzotint.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of St. Thomas's, Westminster, and St. George's Hospitals* ; D.N.B. ; Young's *Barber Surgeons* ; *Sloane MSS.* : P.C.C., 90, *Bettesworth*.

David
Middleton

Middleton's name, in spite of the eminence he achieved, does not figure in any biographical record. Particulars of his parentage and early career have not come to light, and he is

first met with as "a surgeon in Brewer Street," who was a subscriber to the Westminster, and afterwards to St. George's Hospital. In December, 1733, he offered to attend the latter as surgeon in the absence or illness of Wilkie, who had already been appointed, though the hospital was not yet opened to the public. His offer was accepted by the Board, possibly on the recommendation of Dr. David Ross, with whom it seems that he was connected by marriage, and on February 1, 1733-4, Middleton was joined with Wilkie as surgeon-in-ordinary. Upon Cheselden's resignation of the duties of lithotomist to St. George's, he proposed that another surgeon should be chosen for that operation, and April 22, 1737, a special Court was summoned to elect a successor, whereat it was agreed "that it would be of most advantage to the patients, and more for the credit of the hospital, that one only of the surgeons-in-ordinary should be chosen to succeed him, Mr. David Middleton being unanimously chosen." But in April, 1745, he informed the Board that he desired to resign the particular operation of cutting for the stone, as confined to him, but to perform the same in his turn with the other surgeons of the hospital; and henceforward lithotomy was practised by each of the surgeons as they thought proper. In February, 1743-4, being called abroad on the service of His Majesty, leave was given him to recommend a surgeon to take care of his patients, as his deputy, during his absence—he meanwhile continuing a surgeon of the hospital. His choice fell upon William Hewitt, who had been a former student and house-surgeon, and probably one of Middleton's pupils or apprentices at St. George's. In April, 1745, Middleton was again called abroad as Director of His Majesty's Hospitals in Flanders, and Hewitt, having been in the meanwhile appointed to the permanent staff, the surgeons collectively undertook to perform his duties during his absence. In 1748 he succeeded John

Pawlett, one of the consulting surgeons to St. George's, as Surgeon-General to the Army, but it was not until the accession of George III, in 1760, that Middleton became Serjeant-Surgeon to the King. It has been stated that the appointment of surgeon to Chelsea Hospital had been promised by that monarch to "honest David," a veteran in the service of the Royal Family, on the death of Ranby, but that Robert Adair, who had made himself prominent by marriage with the sister of the gallant Earl of Albemarle, prevailed upon George III to confer that lucrative sinecure upon him instead.

In January, 1760, probably upon the request of Middleton and Hawkins, the two senior surgeons to St. George's, that they should be assisted in their duties at the hospital, it was resolved that, in consideration of their great services to the charity, the prohibitory by-law should be dispensed with, and permission was given to each of them to choose an assistant to be elected by the Board. Middleton's choice fell upon Mr. Henry Sandys, who thus became the first assistant surgeon to St. George's. But on December 19, 1764, being then sixty years of age, Middleton gave notice of resignation, and a fortnight later a letter of thanks was sent to him "expressing the very great sense of esteem they held of all his past services to the charity as surgeon, and the great humanity he had always shown to the distressed."

It seems that Middleton was twice married, for whereas Musgrave records the death of his wife on December 5, 1758, his widow and relict Elizabeth survived him. He died at Kensington Palace, December 29, 1785, in his eighty-first year, and in his will, wherein he is described as of that address, he leaves everything to his wife except a few legacies, the principal of which is the sum of £5,000 in trust for his daughter, and probably only surviving child, Mrs. Sober. His

remaining books and instruments he leaves to his nephew, John Cowen or Cowan ; sums of money to various persons—among others to his sister Perry and her children, and to his cousin, Sir James Napier. He bequeaths ten guineas for the Poor-box at St. George's Hospital, and leaves as his executors his wife and Sir James Napier, by the first of whom the will was proved in London, January 13, 1786. In 1734 he was living in Brewer Street, and in 1747 in Burlington Gardens.

Neither portrait nor book-plate of David Middleton is known to exist, and he is not credited with the authorship of any published work.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of St. George's Hospital*; Musgrave's *Obituary*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1759, 1760, 1786; *Scot. Mag.*, 1786; Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*, 1745; P.C.C., 33, *Norfolk*. *Lounger's Common Place Book* (article Adair).

Johann Ernst Wreden, always alluded to in the hospital Minutes as John Wreden, is first met with as in attendance upon George I, who was taking the waters at Pyrmont, in July, 1725, in the capacity of Body Surgeon to His Majesty and Surgeon-General to the Army. From the title-page of his work on inoculation, published at Hanover in 1724, an English translation of which was published in London in 1729, it appears that in the latter year he was Body Surgeon to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom he dedicated the work, in consequence of the Prince having been preserved from small-pox by inoculation. In 1733 he was a subscriber to the Westminster Infirmary, and November 13, 1733, he was appointed principal surgeon to St. George's, subject to the permission of his Royal master, whereupon he gave a subscription of five guineas. In 1735 he is found acting as surgeon-in-ordinary, although still holding the office of principal surgeon, thus becoming entitled

John
Wreden

in the former capacity to take pupils and apprentices. In January, 1737-8, he resigned his appointment as principal surgeon, which office Cheselden and the two Serjeant-Surgeons had already vacated, and, consequently, Wreden was the last to occupy that position, though still continuing his duties as a surgeon-in-ordinary.

In February, 1743-4, it was reported that several complaints had been made to the Board of Mr. Wreden's neglect of duty, "by which his patients may not only suffer very much, but also the credit and reputation of the hospital." The Board had intended to take the affair into consideration, but Mr. Middleton having signified that Mr. Wreden had promised for the future "to give constant attendance, that no patient should suffer through his neglect, and that he will attend the usual hours of dressing," it was ordered that a letter should be sent to Mr. Wreden to acquaint him from the Governors that "they hope they may now rely on his promise, notwithstanding he has failed in a former promise of the like nature, and that they expect a constant and regular attendance from him for the future, otherwise they shall think it incumbent on them to lay their complaints before a general Court."

In the following April Wreden wrote to the Board that he, being obliged to attend on H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and his family in the country, desired that he might have leave to recommend a surgeon to take care of his patients during such absence. A special Court was convened to decide this question, and although Middleton had been granted similar permission in order to go abroad on His Majesty's service, in spite of a standing order to the contrary, Wreden's application was refused. Thereupon he sent a letter to the Board desiring leave to resign his place of surgeon to the hospital, which resignation was accepted,

May 23,
1744

without a vote of thanks being accorded him. His irregularities had probably prejudiced him in the eyes of the Governors.

In 1745 he had vacated his appointment of Surgeon to the Prince of Wales, in which office he was succeeded by Cæsar Hawkins; but neither the reason for such vacation, nor any particulars of his subsequent career, have been discovered.

A letter of his to Sir Hans Sloane, bearing neither date nor address, is preserved among the Sloane MSS. The subject matter places it about the end of the year 1733, at which time he had only lately taken up his residence in England, and the illiteracy of its contents shows his want of familiarity with the language.

“ SIR, the gentlemen belonging to his highnes the prince of Orange not having possibly time to wait on you to day i desire you will be so god and excuse it, i schall give me the honer to wait on you tomorrow before you go abrord to excuse itself i am with all respect, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant (Signed) WREDEN.

"To Sir Hans Sloane in bloomsbury square."

The Prince of Orange had arrived in England in November, 1733, to marry the Princess Royal, but was seized with an intermitting fever, and the marriage was postponed. Sir Hans Sloane and Drs. Teissier and Hollings were called into attendance upon him, first at Somerset House, and afterwards at Kensington Palace, where Dr. Vansyttat (*sic*), who had come over purposely from Friesland, visited him, together with other of the Prince's physicians. Wreden, who held the official appointments of "Body Surgeon and Demonstrator in Hanover to the Prince and Princess of Wales," was acquainted

with his countrymen, and undertook to introduce them to Sloane: such is the explanation of his letter.

Wreden was the author of the following works :

1. *The Arteries and their Ramifications*—in German, 8vo., Hanover, 1721, which work is dedicated to H.M. George I.

2. *Inoculation for Small-pox*—in German, 8vo, Hanover, 1724, which is dedicated to H.R.H. Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and of which an English translation was published in 8vo, London, 1729.

3. *On Diseases of Cattle.*

Various branches of the family of Wrede (as our surgeon's name is sometimes spelt in contemporary records), or Wreden, are mentioned by Rietstap as settled in Westphalia, Hesse, Hanover, Sweden, and Bavaria, the two last of which became ennobled. A common origin is evidenced by the arms, differenced in each instance, borne by all of them—*i.e.* a laurel wreath embellished with five golden roses.

REFERENCES.—*Minutes of St. George's Hospital*; Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*; Rietstap's *Armorial Général*; Sloane MSS.; Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*, 1735-1745.